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DE BOW'S REVIEW

INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES

ETC.



J. D. B. DE BOW, Editor and Proprietor.

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ART. I.—OUR PRESENT CONFEDERATE STATUS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC.

[NOTE.—The author of the paper which follows, under the *nomme de plume* of "Python," has made a reputation throughout the land as a bold, able, logical thinker. His several contributions, which appeared in the pages of this Review, were generally read, greatly admired, and exerted a wide influence in arousing the public, and preparing for that great revolution which now taxes our courage and resources, and reduces everything to the alternative of independence or death. We refer to Major John Tyler, son of the late President Tyler, of Virginia.

There are points in the article of Major Tyler to which, as editor of the Review, objection would be made, were that necessary. Now, as ever, the public will understand that we do not adopt the sentiments of contributors, unless it is so expressly stated. One remark, however, must be made, and that is—if there ever was a good and sufficient reason for reconstruction with the North-west, there are now a thousand reasons otherwise. *It is too late!*—Ed.]

"Possibilities and probabilities give no assurance of peace. The South should only anticipate a prolongation of the war, and look alone to the necessities of war as the surest instrument of peace."

CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE.

The defeat of Seymour, the repulse of Thomas, and the falling back of Sherman, together with the glorious and immortal defence of Charleston, in connection with the popular excitement at the North on the presidential question, and the rumored recognition of the Confederacy by France, and Spain, and other powers, seem to have engendered a state of feeling, of exultation and confidence, similar to that which followed the first Battle of Manassas, fraught with so much subsequent disaster. The people of the South are in all things too imaginative.

Defeat creates with them despondency, victory exaltation, and appearances are magnified into realities. Wishes are constituted the father of our thoughts, and

"Lo! we cry, it is here,
When but some faint mirage rises to the view."

It is fatal to suppose that the war is over, or that peace is at hand. The possibilities and probabilities around us, whether associated with the political commotions at the North, with the suspension of active hostilities there in view of the presidential issue before the people, or with foreign recognition, give no assurance of peace.

Many battles have yet to be fought, many trials have yet to be undergone, before peace will be invoked. A mighty and malignant power is still in our presence, filled with greed and unextinguishable hate. The South should only anticipate a prolongation of the war, and look alone to its increasing necessities. *To recover alone the ground that has been lost to the Confederacy on either bank of the Mississippi, in our centre, or along the Atlantic ocean and the Gulf, will demand an almost indefinite extension of the war.* Everywhere sections of states, and, in a number of instances, whole states, must be repossessed by our arms before we are restored to our integrity. Foreign recognition can not be regarded for this, nor is it to be expected that the enemy will make voluntary restitution. The first, in itself, still leaves the unabated task to our soldiery; and as for the last, when did the German, or Puritan, either, ever yield an inch of earth, once under his tread, save beneath the herculean efforts and ponderous blows of his adversary? From the days of Caesar to the present hour the history of the world replies to their rapacity, and their tenacious hold upon land the thunder of cannon and roar of musketry can alone unloose. Let us not deceive ourselves. Those vast armies that have struck from us one-half of the geographical limits of the Confederacy are still in being, and have not relinquished the determination to subdue us and to seize upon the country. Already that very force, said to have been discomfited and driven back under Sherman to Vicksburg, is reported ascending the Red river to operate in conjunction with Banks, Franklin, Steele, and Davidson, to grasp

the trans-Mississippi department from the hands of Kirby Smith. Has it been considered whether Gen. Smith is prepared to meet this additional pressure upon him? Still more, has it been estimated, in the present attitude of our affairs, the magnitude of the loss of the trans-Mississippi department to the Southern Confederacy? The army of Sherman gives to the enemy in this department, independently of his state troops in Missouri, one hundred thousand men trained to war, while already holding in subserviency to his wastes in that direction the chief regions of supply. What forces have we there? What resources have been developed, and what supplies have been concentrated? It were well that our authorities, civil and military, measured these inquiries. The task is too ungracious for me to undertake; but would that I saw less or discovered more! It is undeniably true that, rightly regarding our status, we are not yet permitted, whatever flattering appearances exist around us, and though victory may be gleaming from our arms, *to relax one muscle into a smile, or to say more than that we exist in health and good spirits.*

But it is asserted that recognition, though in itself not assuring peace, yet that it will be quickly followed by peace, and that, with peace, the Confederacy will be restored in its entirety.

Or, that a change of administration in the government at Washington will be followed by peace, and the establishment of the Confederacy in its entirety.

WHAT EFFECT WOULD RESULT FROM RECOGNITION.

First, as to the question of recognition. This depends, first, upon the complications in Europe. Second, it may be attended by a prolongation of the war in a broader and more desperate shape, rather than by peace.

In order that the subject may be more fully understood, let us here review the normal state of the question, as presented to the public fourteen months ago, and afterwards repeated to the authorities of the State of Texas, while urging firmer action on the part of that state in aid of the Confederacy. It will be perceived to be a matter not to be had for the asking, though resting in the wish of our people, but surrounded by difficulties, and possibly fraught with tremendous consequences to the world at large.

"Why do Great Britain and Russia hold themselves aloof from the question of recognition and intervention, while France assumes to invite those powers to co-operation in the line of recognition and intervention?"

"There exists in Great Britain, with the British public, a remarkable diversity of opinion in respect to the issue between the North and the South, as that issue is associated with the idea of negro slave labor in the Southern States; but the policy of the government itself has been singularly adverse to the recognition of the Confederacy, or to intervention in favor of peace. To understand all this, it is necessary to refer somewhat to history. At the time the British Act of Emancipation was put into effect throughout the British colonies, it was supposed, according to the statements since made in Blackwood's Magazine, the organ of the ruling classes of Great Britain, that negro *free* labor could be made more profitable in the colonies than negro *slave* labor; or, this failing, then that *free* white labor could be substituted from the superabundant population of the Northern country; and thus, in either event, the growing rivalry of the United States in commerce and manufactures, chiefly sustained by the negro *slave* labor of the Southern States devoted to the culture of cotton, tobacco, rice, and sugar, could be undercut and struck down, re-establishing the supremacy of British commerce and British manufactures. *Little was then known as to the laws of race, or as to the laws of climate affecting race, since developed into a new science controlling the question.* To the astonishment of the British government and people, the emancipated negroes would not work, and the climate of the torrid zone proved fatal to the white laborers attempted to be substituted. Under these unlooked-for circumstances, defeating the whole scheme, what was to be done became the next question; for it was clearly seen that, if the United States were left in sole possession of the great commercial staples of the world, resting on negro slavery and negro slave labor, British commerce would ultimately fall before that of the United States, and that, with the loss of her commercial supremacy, her political powers would perish out. To make a virtue of necessity—to assume the character of the fox in the fable, and to induce the public sentiment of civilized nations to come up to the standard of her Emancipation

Act, and to unite the nations of Europe with the non-slaveholding states of the United States in a crusade against negro slavery, and against the Southern States because of negro slavery, was the policy adopted. Should negro slavery thus come to be abolished in the Southern States, she well knew the commerce of the United States would be reduced through the loss of Southern products, and no longer endanger her commercial supremacy, and that she would continue secure in her political ascendancy among the great powers of Europe. Or, should the agitation of the subject lead to the dissolving of the American Union and to the formation of a separate government among the Southern States, destroying the navigation laws of the old Union, and admitting her ships and merchants in the trade of the staples of the South and as carriers, upon an equal footing with that of the "*most favored nations*," thus breaking up the monopoly of the North in that trade, her ends could be, though not so fully, yet, in a great measure, accomplished. Acting persistently upon this far-seeing policy she has, at length, had her will. She inaugurated Exeter Hall, and brought up the public sentiment of the world to the standard of her Emancipation Act. She united the nations of Europe and the states North in the cry of abolition as against the Southern States; and the Southern States have seceded and broken up the old Union and Government of the United States.

BRITISH SCHEMES AND POLICY.

"The result, indeed, has exceeded the fondest anticipations of the British mind, for it has been attended by the most terrible civil war of modern times between the sections, alike exhausting to both, and shaped, more and more, by the government of the Northern section, into a war not merely for the restoration of the Union, nor alone for the emancipation of the negroes of the South, but for the *complete subjugation and political annihilation of the South*. Should the South be subjugated, and the slaves there be emancipated, and the culture of cotton, tobacco, rice, and sugar be suspended, Northern commerce and manufactures would be prostrated never to rise again, and Great Britain would again become the proud mistress of the seas and the controlling power among the nations, through this

politic destruction of her rival. More than this: The annihilation of the institutions and products of the South, especially in regard to slavery and cotton, would open the markets of the universe to her coarser material from India, *without competition*, and, *mirabile dictu!* leave her at liberty to re-establish negro slavery and negro slave labor throughout the colonies in the torrid regions, thereby stimulating, on her own behalf, the production of all the tropical staples, and reinvesting her with their monopoly. Many reasons would urge her to this course; and, in view of future possibilities and contingencies, Blackwood's Magazine, the special organ of her aristocratic and governing classes, as we have said, has always, in despite of Exeter Hall and general public sentiment, kept the pro-slavery anchor to the windward. Still, for the present, upon the destruction of negro slave labor in the Southern States, as the means of destroying the commercial and manufacturing system of the North chiefly reposing on this labor, the whole immediate policy of Great Britain hinges. Nations, like individuals, are governed by what they conceive to be their interest more than by principle, and there are no interests that could be derived to Great Britain so great and valuable as those that would follow from subjugation and emancipation at the South, utterly destroying that productive region, and succeeded by the complete prostration of the commerce and manufactures of the North, giving to her again the carrying trade of the world, and the markets of the world for her own exclusive yarns and manufactures, while relieving her, at the same time, of every apprehension concerning her monarchical and aristocratical establishment of government through the progress of the American system, and of ideas associated with American democracy and free-government, which has been to her a constant dread. Another century of power and wealth would thereby be assured to the British people, and another century of existence vouchsafed to British political institutions. For these reasons, so long as there remains the slightest hope for the subjugation of the South, the British ministry will continue in friendly alliance with the government at Washington, controlled, as it is, by the policy of subjugation. For these reasons they have declined the proposition of Louis Napoleon in the line of recognition and intervention.

And, for these reasons, they will not alter their assumed position until the effort of the North against the South shall prove abortive.

POSITION OF RUSSIA.

"With Russia the reasons for withholding assent from the propositions of the French Emperor are quite different from those influencing Great Britain. Neither commercial ideas strictly, nor friendship for the North specially, nor enmity of the South because of slavery, control the question with the Czar. But there are considerations that weigh with him potentially. He well knows that, since the reign of Peter the Great, most of his predecessors have fallen victims to the nobility, beneath the dagger of the House of Orloff, or the poisoned bowl of its associates. The nobles have been too powerful for the Czar. Hence it has been the policy of the Russian monarchs, for some reigns past, gradually to diminish the consequence of the nobles, by building up a 'Third Estate' in the realm, as a counterpoise of force and power, after the manner and for the reasons that the ancient German emperors encouraged the rise of the Burgesses; and Henry the Seventh firmly established the Commons in England. Operated upon by this motive and line of policy, doubtless, Alexander, without the general concurrence of the nobility, but in accordance with the sentiment of the age, growing out of British actions and British designs, as we have seen, recently proceeded by his ukase to liberate the serfs. Were he now to show the slightest faltering, or inconsistency of principle and action, by giving his countenance to a measure such as that proposed by the French Emperor, looking to intercession in behalf of a slaveholding people like those of the South, it would at once furnish the occasion for an outburst of passion and indignation on the part of the nobility, suspecting his real original motive and intention, and cost him instantly his throne and his life. He dare not do it without the full co-operation of the European powers, and even then it would be an extremely hazardous step for him to take. So long, therefore, as Great Britain refuses co-operation with France, he is compelled to remain silent, or to express himself adverse to the movement. Thus alone, so far, stands the question with Russia; and, although

more might be said, this is enough to explain the apparent solecism of her position—being in herself a despotism, and incapable of sympathy with any mere mawkish sentiment of humanity.

FRANCE.

“With France the question assumes altogether another aspect. Seated upon the throne of this wonderful people is the profoundest statesman of modern times, alike thoughtful, reticent and sagacious, and whose ambition it is to re-establish the empire of his illustrious uncle with a wiser forecast and upon principles more enduring. Penetrating the designs of Great Britain, and knowing the unhappy situation of the Russian Czar, he seems resolved upon a master-stroke of policy that shall strike down his hereditary enemies and elevate France to the topmost round of influence and power among the nations. The elements of his logic and calculations are, first: the United States war against the South for subjugation, confiscation, and annihilation. If the South be conquered, empire will be the result, extending over the whole country, with a gigantic and invincible army, and a terrible and irresistible navy. By this empire Mexico and Central America will shortly be conquered, absorbed, and provincialized under pro-consular governments. Nor alone will it be satisfied with this, but, through its tremendous energies and powers, and the avaricious greed of its people, it will stretch forth its arms to clutch Cuba, Hayti, and San Domingo, thus grasping to itself every great tropical product, not only in respect to cotton and tobacco, rice and sugar, but also as regards coffee and the fruits. It will, after this manner, in time, become the terror of the world and the Nemesis of nations. Second: Old England allies with New England in the policy of subverting the institutions of the South, under the hope of thereby prostrating Northern commerce and manufactures, leaving her the mistress of the seas, and in command of the markets of both hemispheres. Third: the progress of the United States toward unlimited sway must be defeated, and the designs of Great Britain, in a similar channel, must be thwarted, because the success of either would circumscribe the importance of France, diminish the influence of the French em-

pire, wound the vanity of the French people, and endanger the present dynasty upon the throne.

"Operated upon by such reasons and motives, this inscrutable and consummate political and military strategist gradually prepares for the extraordinary part he is about to play. He first brings himself into close alliance with Spain, Italy, and Brazil; and, taking advantage of the repose of the Monroe doctrine during the civil war between the sections, throws into the Gulf of Mexico a powerful fleet, and upon the soil of Mexico a large army, involving Great Britain in the movement only to throw her off afterwards. The United States required, in the conquest of Mexico in 1846-47, a standing force, in two columns, never exceeding twenty-five thousand men, and the whole number they sent there during the entire war, in regulars and volunteers combined, only reached fifty-five thousand. He has there already fully one hundred thousand men, a number more than sufficient for the mere conquest of the country. He next invites Great Britain and Russia to co-operation in the line of recognition and intervention on our behalf, to sound their intentions and ascertain their position. Having thus perfected his military arrangements, and clearly ascertained the disposition of the only two powers that rival his authority, he proceeds, while holding Algeria, in itself as large as France, to acquire in Mexico another tropical region, than which none is more productive and beautiful, with the intention of establishing there a stable government, and preserving the integrity of the nation. He thus not only hopes to place Mexico beyond future contingencies in respect to the United States, but to assure to France independency as to supplies of the raw materials of commerce and manufactures. In view of the subject, he has already introduced the coolie and modern apprentice system of labor in Algeria, and peon servitude exists in Mexico with the bulk of the population. These are easily convertible, should it be deemed necessary, into the patriarchal institution of slavery, such as we have in the Southern States, to be thereafter supplied, if necessary, from Africa—giving to both provinces a permanent labor system, and realizing from both a full and steady production. It may not be, and probably will not be, his policy, while maturing his plans, to stop the conflict between the North and

the South—for to do so might jeopard his designs. But, nevertheless, it can be no part of his idea to suffer the South to be subjugated, as he would then find himself instantly in collision with the undivided power of the United States, armed like a giant at every point. It is his purpose, first, to secure himself in Mexico, and then to intervene between the sections, most probably in *secret alliance with the South*, relying upon the South, as a slaveholding community, to support his policy in the direction of slavery, and in negation of the Monroe doctrine. It is plain that if he succeeds in carrying out these designs, the power of the North will be destroyed, the sceptre of the British lion will be broken, and France will again loom up among the nations of the earth more grandly than she did before the Kremlin perished in flames, or the snows of Russia enwrapped the Grand Army in its icy pall.

THE POSSIBLE END.

“Such are the respective views and policies of Great Britain, Russia, and France, in respect to our cause. From the whole, it is easy to perceive that, if the conflict continues between the sections, the decided tendencies are toward the gradual formation of alliances between New England and Old England on the one side, and between the South, France, and Spain on the other side, while intervening circumstances will determine the attitude of Russia, out of which a war may alternately arise arraying, once more in the history of modern civilization, the leading nations and powers against each other, involving the Christian world. It is not to be presumed that Great Britain, upon discovering the designs of France, will tacitly suffer them to be executed; nor is it to be presumed that France will sit by idly and permit Great Britain to re-establish herself as mistress of the seas, and the foremost authority of all.”

Since these views, as to the posture of our affairs abroad, were presented to the public, fourteen months ago, and which events have demonstrated to have been well taken, in October last, in a communication addressed to the governor and authorities of Texas, these additional paragraphs occur in further elucidation of the subject:

“The Polish insurrection has arisen in Europe as a disturb-

ing cause, threatening to alter somewhat the attitude of Russia, and to unsettle, in some measure, the purposes of France. Apprehending the interposition of France and other powers in behalf of the Polish insurgents, and in favor of the re-establishment of the Kingdom of Poland as a barrier against the progress of Russian dominion towards the Mediterranean sea, the Czar, it is said, has entered into an understanding with the United States, through the minister of the latter at the Court of St. Petersburg, while the French Emperor, on the other hand, looking to the possibility of European collision, in order to disencumber himself as much as possible, and to conciliate Austria, has tendered the crown of Mexico to the Archduke Maximilian. This state of things may greatly complicate the question of recognition and intervention, and retard the action of France in behalf of the Southern Confederacy. Louis Napoleon can not afford to accept war with the United States, Great Britain, and Russia, combined, and the three might make his individual interposition in behalf of the Confederate States the occasion of union against him, in view of the Polish question, and his aspiring commercial designs. Hence he has recently assured the British Government, through Mr. Roebuck, in Parliament, that, 'at the same time that his proposition to that government to intervene between the sections of the North and the South is a standing proposition which he will not withdraw, nevertheless he will not proceed to intervene without the co-operation of Great Britain.'

"The principle of the '*balance of power*' between the nations of Europe, established by the congress at Vienna, enters into the consideration of every question that arises among them, and is continually exercising their governments. It can not be violated without war, yet war is not in accordance with the latest idea of political philosophy. This idea is peace, and that arms must be invoked only for the purposes of peace. At the present juncture it requires all the acumen of diplomacy to consult the demands of the age and to preserve the peace. Therefore, to obtain recognition and intervention in behalf of the South, the question must be presented in a shape not to incite to hostilities, but rather in avoidance of war and in maintenance of peace. But the proposition of France, as it now stands, altered

by circumstances and explained by Mr. Roebuck, only invites to an armed intervention of the leading powers, not in behalf of the South, but between the North and the South; in the line of peace among themselves it is true, but necessarily in assertion of the international law doctrine of *uti possidetis*, whereby the South would be denuded of all the states and territory that the North shall have grasped and now possess. In fact, if Great Britain acceded to the proposition of France, invoking, as it now does, an armed intervention, it is more than probable that, after satisfying the North with the application of the doctrine of *uti possidetis*, and under it surrendering to the North Maryland, North-western Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, and the greatest parts of Louisiana and Florida, they themselves would divide off the balance of the states of the South into sugar and cotton plantations, under revived colonial systems, thus sacrificing the cause of republican liberty and independence. Yet this proposition is all that has been promulged from abroad in the line of our necessities, and foreign diplomacy bids fair to bind us where the arms of the enemy have placed us."

THE CATHOLIC POWERS.

Thus stands the question on the broad basis of *humanity*, and in view of *European complications*, where it alone reposes at this time. Nor do we perceive how its present status can be affected by the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty, which has again arisen to disturb the politics of the German powers. Those powers are quite foreign to the affairs of America, and that difficulty does not bid fair so to involve the Government of Great Britain as to liberate France and her allies in reference to the South. Without this, the complications of the question are such, as we have seen, to surround it with doubt and trouble. An armed intervention, accompanied by the application of the doctrine of *uti possidetis*, we could never afford to accept, and a mere recognition by France and her allies would not close the war. But even as to a naked recognition by France and her allies, bringing the Catholic powers of France, Spain, Italy, Brazil, and Mexico, into closer union, apparently, at least, this would excite the watchful jealousy and concern of the Protestant powers, especially of

Great Britain, inclining her still more toward the North, threatening general hostilities. The religious idea and the commercial idea are both involved, and in connection with the same states and powers. France would head both the religious and the commercial league, and, while thus re-establishing the Catholic Church in its integrity, would become the recipient, not only of the trade in silk, already hers, but of all that magnificent wealth of commerce associated with four out of five of the great staples of the world, on which depend the prosperity and industry of the nations. To Great Britain would be left tea alone. Would she be satisfied with this alone, and to be dwarfed into a second-rate power? Time will determine; but it is not reasonable to suppose. The splendor of the game, however, it must be admitted, is worth the venture, and our hope is that Louis Napoleon may be enabled, by dexterous management and a happy combination of circumstances, to weave around his brow a chaplet of glory that the thundering arms of his uncle never attained; though we must say that this hope, in view of the present basis of negotiation and European surroundings, is only possible, and not probable.

But in our communication to the authorities of Texas we endeavored to show how these difficulties, arising out of European complications, could, perhaps, be caught within the web of international law and enmeshed, leaving the French Emperor to the free pursuit of his brilliant line of policy, involving the welfare of the Confederacy. We thus presented the subject:

"Some years ago, in the course of the career of that miracle of genius, Napoleon the Great, while conducting the arms of France against the combined powers of Europe, Spain, then in possession of all South America and the greater part of North America, ceded to France '*the district of Orleans and the territory of Louisiana.*' Afterwards, Napoleon, fearing that the purchase might be seized by the superior mercantile strength of Great Britain, with whom he was at war, and that, in conjunction with the Canadas, it would give to that nation a territorial extent in North America entirely surrounding and enveloping the United States, furnishing the ultimate means of crushing out the young republic, and grasping a range of commerce before which no other empire could stand, sold this purchase to the

United States, in the hope of substantiating those states against Great Britain, and building them up into a powerful commercial and manufacturing rival—but stipulating in the deed, or treaty of sale, among other things, with his usual clearness of perception and sense of justice, that *'the inhabitants of the ceded district and territory shall be maintained and protected by the United States in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and the religion they profess.'* And, in approving the treaty, he thus wrote to the inhabitants: 'Let the Louisianians know that we separate from them with regrets, but that we stipulate in their favor everything that they can desire.' Similar guarantees in behalf of the inhabitants had been given by France to Spain. The whole world, at the time, acknowledged *'property'* in slaves and slave labor, and negro slavery existed among the inhabitants, and by the local law, extended over the whole district and territory from the Nueces, if not the Rio Grande, to Vancouver's island; for the purchase itself embraced not only the states and territories now attached to the trans-Mississippi department, but extended over Iowa, Minnesota, Dacotah, Kansas, Nebraska, Washington, and Oregon.

"Here, then, were solemn treaty stipulations, in perfect accordance with the sense and spirit of the age, binding upon the United States to *'maintain and protect'* the institution of negro slavery, and *'property'* in negro slaves, among the *'inhabitants'* of the Louisianas, and resting on the national honor and good faith of France and Spain, to exact its full measure and observance for all time to come, so long as the inhabitants should desire it; and by the Constitution of the United States this treaty stood as a part of *'the supreme law of the land.'* Nevertheless, this treaty, thus circumstanced, has been violated, time and again, by the United States, *but never during the reign of Napoleon.* Before the United States proceeded to violate it for the first time, in 1819-20, through the vote of the North in the congress at Washington, upon the question of the admission of Missouri into the Union as a slaveholding state, and, by the application of the *'Compromise line,'* cutting off and excluding slaves from among the *'inhabitants'* of the territory north of that line, Napoleon was overthrown in France and chained to the rock of Helena; and the Bourbons, whose policy it was to ig-

more his acts when they could not be set aside, acceded to the thrones of France and Spain, and those governments lost sight of their guarantees to the 'inhabitants' of the Louisianas. This state of things continued, necessarily, until the reaccession of the Bourbons and the reaccession of the Napoleonic dynasty to the throne of France in the person of Louis Napoleon. By the fact of the reaccession of the Napoleonic dynasty this treaty becomes re-established in the honor of France and upon the conscience of the emperor, and, as Louis Napoleon is now recognized and acknowledged as the lawful sovereign of France, in right of his uncle and the French people, by the European powers, *international law will justify him in the assertion of the guarantees of the treaty against the United States, in favor of the 'inhabitants' of the Louisianas, and deprives those powers of the pretext of war for his so doing.* The United States, taking advantage of the situation of France, and in contempt of their own constitution, have not only, through the force of the North in the Union, time and again violated this treaty, as we have said; but they have finally driven the 'inhabitants' of the country, who still own slaves, to arms in defence of their rights under its stipulations; and now threaten utterly to extinguish these rights by depriving the inhabitants of their '*liberties*,' robbing them of their '*property*,' and abolishing negro slavery. So far from maintaining and protecting the inhabitants in the '*free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion*,' according to the terms of the treaty, the course of the United States has been, and still is, to deprive them entirely of liberty, property, and religion, together with life itself. Even their lands are confiscated.

TREATY STIPULATIONS WITH FRANCE.

"All the states of the trans-Mississippi department would have the right, under this treaty, not only to '*appeal*' to France and Spain for protection, but to *demand* of those governments the fulfilment of its conditions as against the United States. That Texas was originally a part of the Louisiana territory, *suffered to lapse through the neglect of the United States, controlled by the policy of the North in the government, can scarcely admit of a doubt.* Those best versed in the history of the times of the purchase always so asserted; and Mr. Benton, in his annals of

'thirty years' service in the Senate, as well as in his speeches and letters upon the question of the admission of Texas into the Union, invariably styles the measure not one of '*annexation*,' but of '*reannexation*.' She can, at this time, claim it to be her especial province to take action under the treaty with France, and that between France and Spain; since heretofore, while in an anomalous condition, she was debarred from speech, *like an infant at law*, and it was not until she was *reannexed* to the United States that she recovered her *status* beneath the folds of its stipulations and guarantees, that are now being threatened by the United States with invasion, subversion, and destruction, and in defence of which she has been driven to the direful necessity of revolution and war.

"There is one feature associated with this treaty that must be of an exceedingly interesting and attractive character to France and to Frenchmen. It will be remembered that, out of the lands embraced in the 'District of Orleans,' the United States made an extensive donation, now comprehending much of the City of Orleans, to Gilbert Mortier de LaFayette, in consideration of his distinguished Revolutionary services, and large sums of money expended out of his private purse in support of our troops and arms during the war of the Revolution. This donation he consented to accept; but, on discovering that the lands were already, for the most part, occupied by settlers, he generously and unreservedly, with his usual liberality and magnanimity of soul, confirmed them in their possessions, without restriction upon their domestic usages. These settlers were, at the time, slaveholders, and all their usages partook of the institution of slavery. But the United States, after first oppressively compelling these 'inhabitants' to proclaim their constitutional privilege to secede from the Union in defence of their rights and liberties, have now proceeded, sword in hand, to rob them of their slaves, to confiscate their real estate, and to deprive them even of life—as in the case of Mumford, if prompted by policy or revenge—equally in contempt of the donation, of the memory and bounty of LaFayette, and of the treaty with France.

* * * * *

"Not only are France and Spain interested in the welfare of the 'inhabitants' of the trans-Mississippi department, but

Spain is, moreover, called upon to assert against the United States the provisions of the treaty for the purchase of the Floridas, stipulating in favor of the people there no less extensive privileges than those embraced in the treaty with France. These stipulations, to preserve which Florida felt herself compelled to secede from the old Union, the United States have as little regarded as those of the treaty with France. The rights of 'property' and the rights of 'persons,' 'life, liberty, religious privileges, and the pursuit of happiness,' are no less spurned and desecrated in the Floridas than in the Louisianas; and it is but reasonable to suppose that Spain will ultimately appeal to the fact upon a proper presentation of the case.

* * * * *

"Should France be induced to interpose in behalf of the 'inhabitants' of the states and territories of the trans-Mississippi department, on the basis of the treaty of purchase of the Louisianas, the advantages derived to the Confederacy would be incalculable, not only during the war, but after the declaration of peace. SUCH INTERPOSITION WOULD AMOUNT TO MUCH MORE THAN A BARE RECOGNITION, AND YET FALL FAR SHORT OF THAT KIND OF INTERVENTION WHICH WOULD CARRY ALONG WITH IT THE DOCTRINE OF 'UTI POSSIDETIS.' The power of Spain, in a double sense, would be unavoidably involved in the direction of the action of France; and Brazil, Mexico, Italy, and Austria, would be placed in the position of armed neutrals by the side of France and Spain, compelling Great Britain to look well herself before she regarded the repose of Europe, though she were disposed to question the grounds of the interposition of France, which is scarcely supposable, resting, as they would do, upon the impregnable basis of international law and treaty stipulations. Indeed Great Britain would now, under the new situation of affairs, and in view of her commercial and manufacturing interests threatened with overthrow, soon see the necessity on her part, not of opposing, but of joining, in the movement, so as to share its benefits. In the meanwhile, it is reasonable to infer, the Polish difficulty would be adjusted between the European powers, and a Confederate fleet be liberated from the ports of Europe to operate along our sea-coasts and up our rivers, in recovery of the cities and harbors captured by the enemy. As matters began to assume this shape, the probabilities are that the North would gladly agree to an armistice and negotiations for peace.

But should they, under these circumstances, determine upon continuing the war, their destruction would be inevitable; seeing which, Great Britain would not only refuse to stir in their behalf, but would immediately spring to their overthrow—as the *real policy of the British Ministry is founded on the idea of the annihilation of their commercial and manufacturing systems resting on Southern products.* The destruction of the South would accomplish this effectually, it is true; but if the South is to be substantiated, her next line of policy will be to divert the trade and products of the South as far from the North as possible, leaving the ships of the North to rot at their wharves, and their manufacturing establishments to crumble to their foundations. These products would be now for distribution throughout the world, and no longer confined to the states of the North; neither would the North any longer command and monopolize the carrying trade of the South. They would be stripped of all their exclusive privileges heretofore enjoyed under their navigation acts, and fall, like Lucifer, to rise no more. A French and Spanish fleet, and a Franco-Mexican army, stand in readiness, in the Gulf of Mexico and along its shores, almost at our doors and within our call, to advance, in conjunction with the Confederate forces under Smith, Magruder, Taylor, and Price, against Banks in Louisiana, and Steele and Davidson in Arkansas, while raising the blockade of New Orleans and clearing out the Mississippi—thus reuniting the trans-Mississippi department with the departments East; and the government at Richmond, crushing out the power of the Northwestern States, while that of the Middle and the Eastern States would quickly fall before the hammering blows of Lee, Johnston, and Beauregard; and it would remain for the Confederacy and its allies to dictate to the Government of the North their own terms of adjustment, *and everywhere abolition sentiment would expire.*

WHAT FRANCE WOULD GAIN.

“These terms of adjustment could be only such as to assure the impoverishment of the North following their overthrow and the declaration of peace. The Northern States would be deprived of the trade of the South and the markets of the South. Their gorgeous commercial marts and palaces would be reverted to the wilderness, and their ‘merchant princes’ again become clothed in the rags from whence they sprung. The trade

of the South would be no longer confined to Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, but would be extended to London, Liverpool, Havre, Paris, Lisbon, Madrid, Vienna, Genoa, Florence, Rome, Havanna, and Rio Janeiro. The shipping of the South would be no longer restricted to Northern bottoms, but would command the mercantile marine of the world. The staples of the South would be no longer monopolized by twenty millions of people at the North, but would be competed for by fifty millions in Great Britain and her colonies, fifty millions in France and her colonies, forty millions in Spain and her colonies, forty millions in Austria, and twenty-seven millions in Italy, without regard to Brazil and Mexico. All that the South could raise would supply her markets, and she would grow to be the richest and most glorious confederated republic the world ever beheld, upon the ruins of the North. Thus from the 'thistle danger should we pluck the flower safety,' avoid the doctrine of *uti possidetis*, establish our independence, preserve liberty, increase our wealth and power, and annihilate our enemy."

Whether the course thus indicated in October last to the authorities of Texas, as to the management of our foreign affairs, has been or will be pursued by those in the public management, it is impossible to say; and we turn from all the uncertainties of the Florida question as to peace, to the more promising appearances of domestic issues at the North terminating Black Republican rule, and with that the war between the sections.

To understand the movements at the North they must be viewed in the light of all the elements that enter into them: first, socially and politically; second, sectionally and politically; and, in conclusion, in the light of party action. In this consideration of the subject permit me here, in the beginning, to reproduce the papers, on either point, put forth last fall twelve months, on the political revolution just then achieved in the Northwestern States.

NORTHERN SOCIETY, SOCIALLY AND POLITICALLY.

"The structure of Northern society is aggregational, like that of France, and not individual, like that of England; and its political tendencies have been, for many years past, like those of France rather than those of England, towards centralization and an imperial system of government. The revolution of 1776 at the North, as with that, afterwards, of 1789 in France,

sloughed off from society the aristocratical elements, and from government the monarchical element, and, on the one hand, levelled down the fabric of society to the standard of the masses, and, on the other hand, reduced the form of government to the model of democracy. From the North, as well as from France, were swept all conservative principles, civilly and politically, alike in regard to church and state, giving birth to the crude philosophy of speculative minds, and to the wild humanitarianism of the wilder rabble; and to this day life in the one is characterized by the same features with life in the other: not, as in England, life at home, by the fireside, in the family circle; but life in the street, in the crowd, at the theatre, at the opera, in the hotel, or in hired lodgings; life without reverence for God or respect for man; active, restive, unstable, and without fixed ideas in morals, religion, politics, or law; iconoclastic, and yet not reformatory.

"Napoleon Bonaparte, with an analytic power of thought never surpassed, soon discovered in France that a democracy so extensive could not maintain self-existence; but that a return to the monarchy of Louis XIV was impossible, since there remained neither an hereditary aristocracy nor a church establishment for it to rest upon, and consequently that the system of the emperor—of the Cæsar—holding the sword as a sceptre, and constituting place the patent of nobility, was the only refuge of society; and, taking advantage of the war that followed with the rest of Europe, he mounted the loftiest throne of modern times. The struggles that have since occurred in France, terminating in the empireal system of Louis Napoleon, demonstrates the correctness of the view of his great progenitor, coinciding, as it does, with that of the great Julius, entertained, under similar circumstances, in regard to Roman affairs, and realized in Augustus—that universal democracy in a state constitutes the true basis of imperial despotism; that, instead of perfecting a people in self-government, it merely prepares them for the acceptance of a proper master.

"The danger from these two maxims of social and political truth, thus evoked from the chaos of human affairs by the two mightiest minds that have ever adorned existence, and so grandly applied in the world's history, is as imminent in the North, through the civil war now raging between the sections, as it was in Rome when Cæsar, after wrestling with Pompey,

stood in every eye; or in France, when Napoleon, after crushing the proud Austrian, stole away the public heart. Nor is it the first time that we have alluded to the fact. We have time and again called attention to its existence, and warned the people North, as well as South, against the 'designs of Black Republicanism and the aims of William H. Seward.' As early as February and March, 1857, and again in March, 1860, through the columns of DeBow's Review, and other sources of intelligence, we invited special consideration to the social and political status of the North, to the dread issues upon the country, and to the imperious purposes of Seward and the other leaders of the 'Radical Democracy.' The Seward-Lincoln administration has realized, is realizing, and will realize, our utterances. It has not only perfected revolution and generated civil war, but, through the war, it is rapidly preparing the road to an imperial system and an imperial despotism. It is well known to Seward that all may be accomplished at the North as Caesar accomplished it at Rome, in the manner set forth in March, 1860, without the alteration of republican titles or republican forms. It is perfectly understood by him that Caesar himself was only a consular-tribune, that is, a chief magistrate and commander-in-chief, clothed with tribunitial power, and, therefore, that a president may become a Caesar.

"Have these ideas at last taken root in the thoughtful minds of the North? is the question. Have they entered into the recent elections there, and controlled the action of the Democratic party proper? Let the speeches of Mr. Richard O'Gorman and of Mr. John Van Buren, together with the editorials of the Chicago Times and of other kindred sheets, answer; for no other answer can we of the South have. If they evidence the fact that the Democratic masses of the North have taken alarm for the safety of their liberties, then there is reasonable ground to hope that this war can not be prolonged; that it can neither be constitutionally nor unconstitutionally conducted; for to conduct it at all will be simply to work a change of masters to them, and whether the South be subjugated or not, they will be ruined. Seeing so far, this they must see. If, on the contrary, these productions are to be read merely in the light of party tactics, and only evidence the triumph of a party in opposition to the administration, the war will be continued without abatement until a Caesar shall arise and the liberties of the masses

are lost for ever. For the sake of humanity it is to be hoped that the first is the right interpretation, and that the masses of the North are awaking to a fear for their liberties. They would be, indeed, immersed in stupidity if they continued longer blind to the danger with which they are threatened by the property-holders and moneyed classes in their midst, who, it is well known, were foremost for the war, and who still stand with open purse, dauntlessly, by the side of Seward and Lincoln in its prosecution—doubtless trusting that, through its instrumentality, the government may be finally subverted, and that the unlimited sway of the people, through the law of universal suffrage now obtaining, may be curtailed by the sword and subjected to a despot of their selection.

“And have not the property-holders and moneyed classes of the North good reasons to entertain these designs against the masses? When the political constitution of Northern society is considered, and the action of the non-property-holding classes against the property-holding and moneyed classes is remembered, candor compels a reply in the affirmative. Estimating the population of the North, in round numbers, at twenty-two millions, only two millions of the whole number possess property interests. Against twenty millions an execution for debt can not be levied, so small is their title to property. Twenty millions stand in the condition of day-laborers, supplying, by the work of their hands, all the needs and exigencies of themselves and families, including rent, raiment, fuel, medicine, and medical attendance. But through their constitutions of government and the laws they have, each has for himself, independently of property, the right of suffrage, and the property-holding and moneyed classes have no more. They have thus been, for thirty years past, potential in their governments. Legislation, during this time, has been almost exclusively with themselves, and they have taken care to control enactments for their special benefit, however onerous and unjust to property rights and interests. As far as property in the hands of others can be made by statute to contribute to their relief, it has been remorselessly done. In the line of taxation everything is demanded. The landlord must show his rent-roll, the merchant his bills of sale, the broker his list of exchanges, the lawyer his fee-book, the doctor his receipts, the annuitant his income, and the clerk his salary, so that exactions may be made upon all sums beyond that of the

mark of the day-laborer. All municipal, county, and state burdens must be borne by the two millions. They, the twenty millions, want good roads and good streets; the two millions must pay for the work, and pay them for doing it, though chiefly for their use. They, the twenty millions, want hospitals, asylums, infirmaries, and poor-houses; the two millions must pay them for their erection, and afterwards sustain them in the use of the charity thus erected and paid for. They, the twenty millions, want their children educated; the two millions must furnish the buildings and supply the teachers. They, the twenty millions, are, on every hand, the government and the legislature, and the two millions must support the one and maintain the other, and humbly thank them both for such oppressions. Under these circumstances, is it to be supposed that the two millions will not seek, and are not seeking, through the war, to break their manacles and to liberate their property? It would be to reason against human nature and all past experience to think otherwise. They have already turned the tables against the twenty millions. They have already placed the twenty millions under the power of the sword. Already is the freedom of the masses made a mockery. Already is despotism enthroned over the people. Already do presidential proclamations, with the mandates of an emperor, supersede laws and constitutions. They, the twenty millions, are beneath the heel of the two millions. In using the twenty millions to emancipate the negroes of the South and to subjugate the Southern States, the property-holding and moneyed classes of the North have leagued with Seward and Lincoln to enslave the twenty millions and to prostrate their government. Should the war continue, never again will the twenty millions be suffered to rise from their abject condition—never again shall we behold the majesty of the people of the North. Whether the South be subjugated or not, we shall see, in 1865, if not earlier, these minions of tyranny standing, like whipped curs, with bowed heads and downcast looks, to receive their masters, and kneeling obsequiously at the feet of Caesar. This is the consolation of the South—this will be our great revenge.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

"William H. Seward has not been an idle spectator of the times, nor a dull student of the world's history. He has conned

over the pregnant lessons of Marius, of Julius, and of Augustus—of Napoleon the Great, and of Louis Napoleon—and he has couched his ambition on the loftiest standard. His maxim has always been, as was theirs, '*vulgus vult decipi—decipiat*;' and he well knows the force, with the multitude, of national sentiment, of a popular cry, of a Marseillaise hymn, under the frenzy of excitement. Having gathered up the rabble of all hues and complexions at the North, and concentrated them under the Black Republican banner, after the manner we have shown in the essays above referred to in DeBow's Review, it was an easy matter for him, in the line of his purpose, to hurl them into a fratricidal war with the South, and, with sword in hand, to invade the constitution of his country, after having already undermined its living faith in the breasts of his followers, hoping, through the subjugation of the one and the subversion of the other, with his legions and his partisans at his back, to grasp the sceptre of empire as his exemplars did before him. A continuation of the war is necessary to his high-reaching aims. These aims we have fully set forth in the paper on 'The Issues of 1860.' During the canvass of 1860, in his tour through the Northwestern States, he himself confirmed by his declarations the positions we assumed, and fully indicated the line of national and imperial destiny we had traced. The magnitude of his views and the scope of his ambition appall, attract, and astound the mind. Before them let the nations tremble at the subjugation of the South, and Archbishop Hughes prepare to chant the requiem of the Catholic Church! Mexico and Cuba will follow after the South; Catholicity will perish in America; and Catholics will be known in the empire only as helots and peons!

SECOND: SECTIONALLY AND POLITICALLY.

"The states attached to the Northwestern, the Middle, and the Eastern sections of the North, are operated upon by the war differently and unequally, and the conclusion of the war, with or without the subjugation of the South, will affect them dissimilarly.

NEW ENGLAND.

"The benefits and advantages of the war are chiefly with the New England States. They feel none of its evils, and only know of its existence as ship-builders, ship-owners, manufactur-

ers, contractors, speculators, and employees. Every day of the war adds to their wealth, and its indefinite prolongation would make New England the richest country on the globe of equal dimension and population. And should the South be subjugated, and the property of the South be confiscated in payment of the debt incurred by the North during the war, as has been done by legislation already, and will be done practically and thoroughly should the event of subjugation ever take place, all this fabulous wealth of New England, realized through the war, will become permanently secured. The party of the New England States, therefore, desire the war continued to the end of subjugation and confiscation, necessarily involving emancipation and the apprentice system of negro labor, which, in itself, involves another pecuniary idea with the Puritanical Pharisees: that of the investment of their superabundant moneys, acquired through the war, in Southern lands and negro apprentices, leading, yet further, to the reopening of the slave trade, disguised as the apprentice trade, to be conducted in New England bottoms, to the greater extension of unbounded wealth and controlling power in the new government—after the manner set forth by "Python" in De Bow's Review, in March, 1860, and afterwards in the Richmond Whig, in February, 1862. Never, within the memory of man, has the world known a moneyed scheme so gigantic and well devised as the centralizing abolitionism of New England, predicated on war and the extermination of the South as a coequal part of the Union.

THE MIDDLE STATES.

"With the Middle States, embracing New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, the benefits and advantages of the war are somewhat equalized by its expenses and disadvantages. At the same time that they gain much they lose much. In these states the shipping and manufacturing interests are also very large, and they, too, have a vast army of employees, and speculators, and contractors, growing richer and richer through the war. But they have to bear the brunt and burthen of the contest with Virginia and her invincible hero-son, Robert E. Lee, the ablest and most modest military man alive—the prototype of Washington, and the inheritor, if not of the name, of the honor, the fame, the estate, and the family of that great man. In this contest the drain upon them for men and

for material has been immense, and finding their balance-sheet of loss and gain evenly measured, not largely figuring on the side of wealth and power, even upon the presumption of the subjugation of the South, they are quite willing to play the game of quits, and that the war shall terminate. With them four ideas enter in the consideration of the question of the prolongation of the war. First: New England wants war, and will be satisfied with nothing but war. Second: the South will fight to extermination sooner than ever ally again with New England. Third: the Northwestern States and the South, embraced by the Mississippi river and its tributaries, and having great similarity of interests, materially and politically, may, at any moment, unite and terminate the war, upon terms easily arranged, and entirely satisfactory to both, without regard either to New England or the Middle States. Fourth: an alliance on their part with the Northwestern and the Southern States, by agreeing to slough off the New England States, and becoming, in their stead, the ship-builders, manufacturers, carriers, and factors for the Northwest and the South. It is all file-out-steel between the Humanitarians of the Middle States and those of the New England States, as to money and money-making, and as to political power in government looking to money and money-making, without regard to principle or to human life. Senator Bigler and John Van Buren are as fair types of the one as Banks and Beast Butler are of the other.

THE NORTHWESTERN STATES.

"The Northwestern States occupy a different position in respect to the war from either of the other two sections. The present gain to them through the war is as nothing, whereas their losses are immense. The people of these states are neither ship-builders nor manufacturers, but agriculturists and stock-raisers. The war, so far from extending, has limited their markets, by cutting off the Southern States from them. They do not repose near the government at Washington, and hence participate only to a limited extent in the moneyed employments, speculations, and contracts incident to the war. The burthen of the conflict with all the Southern States of the Mississippi valley rests upon them, and the drain of men and of material for its maintenance has been and is enormous. And, apart from these facts, a vast majority of their people, instead of entertain-

ing humanitarian ideas toward the negro, abhor him as belonging to a degraded race, and exclude him from sojourn or settlement among them, although liberated from bondage. Those that fly to their military lines are left, for the most part, to starve or perish. For what, then, do they continue to fight the South with such desperate determination? Let the answer be well weighed. It is because the future welfare of themselves and children is inseparably blended with the Mississippi river and its waters. It is because they will not consent that the main trunk and mouths of this river shall be held exclusively by any power foreign to themselves. Nevertheless, they see and feel that if the war against the South be prosecuted to the end of subjugation and confiscation, attended by emancipation and apprenticeship, obliterating the states of the South and provincializing the country occupied by them, according to the programme of the government at Washington, controlled by the Abolitionists, they, the Northwestern States, must be necessarily subordinated to the ship-building and manufacturing states of New England and the Middle section, and be driven ultimately, as the South has been driven, to secession and war, to maintain their equality of rights and interests in or out of the government. They, moreover, wisely apprehend that the progress of the war will subvert the independence of the states and the liberties of the people, and lead to the establishment of an *imperial* system, sustained by bayonets, and resting on an aristocracy composed of the ship-builders, manufacturers, speculators, and contractors in the Eastern and Middle States, enriched by the war, and grown, through the power of wealth, supreme over the government.

As the South has been in the past, they fear they may become in the future, the mere hewers of wood and drawers of water to their brothers of New England and the Middle States. They, therefore, fight not to subjugate, but simply to bring the South to terms of peace which shall not exclude them from that governmental league that shall control the navigation and trade of the Mississippi river. They believe their real and lasting interests to be sufficiently identical with and assimilated to those of the South as to render it illogical and unnatural to interpose an obstacle to the union of the two sections. Entertaining these views, their leading journals and orators have taken the ground boldly, that the Northwestern States must take care of themselves; that the South shall not take from them

the Mississippi river, nor shall the New England and the Middle States take from them the South. They desire an alliance with the South and the termination of the war without further bloodshed, even to the subversion of the government at Washington, and without regard either to New England or the Middle States.

"Thus the three sectional parties of the North stand arrayed relatively to the South, and in respect to the question of peace or war. A collision as between themselves is imminent; and it is evident the South, by entering into an alliance with the party of the Northwest, have it in their power to exact all honorable and safe terms of adjustment; to demand the abdication of the government at Washington; and, if it should be deemed necessary, as probably it may be, to enforce the trial and conviction of Abraham Lincoln as a traitor to the Constitution of the United States and to the laws of the land. Two years ago, when, upon the accession of Virginia to the Southern Confederacy, I was called on by the citizens of Montgomery to express myself, I congratulated them upon the fact that the accession of Virginia, followed, as she would be, by Missouri and Tennessee, if not by Kentucky, would save to the country its future line of statesmanship and power, associated with the Mississippi river and its waters. Some thoughtless journals then animadverted upon my remarks '*as looking to reconstruction.*' But the hour of prejudice and passion is now over, and the subject may be considered in the calm recesses of the mind. Events have passed on, rendering it useless to combat the logic of nature and the eternal decrees of Providence. I saw then that which the signs of the times now point to as existing, steel-engraved, in the book of Destiny: the indissoluble and indivisible character of that mighty region washed by the Mississippi river and its tributaries, from the dividing ridge wherein they have their source to the Gulf of Mexico, like the boundary of the Nile from the mountains of Ethiopia to the Mediterranean sea, that neither foreign conquests, nor domestic revolutions, since the tide of history began, four thousand years ago, have ever served to sever, but still continues, in government and institution, one and inseparable.

"And it now may be understood why our army was permitted to escape on its retirement from Corinth; notwithstanding the conduct of the retreat; why it was suffered to repose so long in safety at Holly Springs; why it was not harassed on falling

back behind the Tallahatchie; why Grenada was not seized in the rear of our position; and why, again, the enemy has so greatly magnified his losses at Vicksburg, when assaulted by Sherman and McClernand. In other words, it can now be understood why the Mississippi valley, which, after the stupendous blunder of General Bragg in his Kentucky raid, and the disastrous repulse of General Van Dorn at Corinth, lay, for months, prior to the first of January, 1863, at the arrival of General Johnston, at the mercy of the enemy, escape being, clutched and crushed into submission. A mighty political revolution was progressing in the Northwest. This revolution, resulting so auspiciously for the South, I purpose hereafter to explain in full. Suffice it for the present to say, that the conquest of the Mississippi valley would have caused the triumph of the New England party, both over the government and country of the United States, and the party of the Northwest would have found itself immediately antagonized by and subordinated to that of the United States in league with that of New England. In addition to this fact, the Puritans of New England and the Middle States, after thus triumphing in the government and country, would have trampled the Catholics beneath the iron heel of oppression, reducing them shortly to helots in society and a disfranchised class in the government. Archbishop Hughes was abandoned by the hierarchy. It was not the policy of the Northwestern States, nor was it any longer the desire of the Catholics, to subjugate the Mississippi valley. It will not be their policy in the future, if the South be wise, and propitiate Fortune while they may. But though Fortune now smiles upon the South, let it not be forgotten that she is chary of her favors; that Nemesis stalks behind her, while the Furies and their torches, and the weird sisters of Fate, await the bidding of the terrible Goddess of Vengeance and Remorse."

PARTY ACTION IN THE CONFEDERACY.

It was truly unfortunate for the country that what was called the administration press, if not the administration itself, treated contemptuously the advances of the Northwestern States made at this juncture. It led, unquestionably, to the concentration of the power of those states against the Mississippi valley, and afterwards against our centre in Tennessee, sacrificing thousands of patriotic lives, and causing the Confed-

eracy itself to tremble in the balance. It hurled back the revolution rapidly progressing at the North, and is the secret of the fall of Vicksburg and the defeat of Bragg at Missionary Ridge. The Northwestern States were reduced to the necessity of attempting to force the South to yield to the terms they had, through many of their leading men, freely proposed, and made known to us in a manner as tangible as circumstances permitted at the time. It will be remembered that the Middle States, through the Woods, Gov. Seymour, John Van Buren, and Richard O'Gorman, of New York, Senator Bigler, of Pennsylvania, Salstonstall, of Delaware, and Waul, of New Jersey, for fear of being left out of the arrangement, put forth declarations to the public, visiting the whole offence of the war against the South upon the New England States, and agreeing to "*leave them out in the cold*;" but that, so soon as they found the overtures of the Northwestern States spurned, swallowed down their words, and united again upon another "*On to Richmond*," sacrificing thousands of other patriotic lives. The end of the blunder committed, at least by some purporting to be the friends of the administration, would have been at hand, had Grant in person headed the Sherman expedition, and avoiding his mistakes, struck Gen. Johnston in rear and flank, while Thomas bore down upon his front. Happily for the Confederacy, God averted the blow; and though we have lost much territory, and our principal rivers, and are cut off from the trans-Mississippi department, and are still blockaded, nevertheless our power remains intact, while a more general movement, losing the sectional character, but in the line of party action, has now commenced at the North, aiming at the overthrow of the Black Republican party, and with that the Lincoln-Seward administration.

The Catholic elements of the North, since the death of that ambitious prelate and mischief-maker, Archbishop Hughes, are evidently assuming a healthier tone, and withdrawing, more and more, from the support of the war, while the rest of the conservative elements are beginning to be agitated at the tremendous strides made by the Washington government towards the system of the emperor. The Catholic party more widely perceive, as did the Northwestern States fall before last, that they can not afford the subjugation of the South. Heretofore, in the past politics of the country, in view of the advances of

Puritanism, and as the weaker party at the North, under the lead of that good and great man, Father Ryder, who died too soon for them and for us, they always sided with the South as the weaker section in the Union, thus uniting the two lesser forces to balance the stronger. In this manner Pierce came to be elected in 1852, and Buchanan in 1856, being the candidates of the South for the Presidency; and it is well remembered how staunchly they stood by Jackson and by Polk. Yet all of these four recipients of their favor entertained opposite religious sentiments to their own. It was enough for the Catholics to know that the South sustained them. In 1860, through the death of their great leader, they were temporarily thrown from their moorings by Archbishop Hughes, whose personal policy, looking to Rome and its honors, sought ever to present himself to the Board of Cardinals with the grand American power of the United States as a whole at his back, in view of the red cap, and the Papacy afterwards. It was not long, however, before the American hierarchy began to discover that the subjugation of the South would only tend to unite ultimately the Red Republican and infidel Germans of the Kosuth importation, with the Puritan Iconoclasts, no less infidel, already leagued together against the South, into a wild crusade against the Church everywhere on the continent, reviving the Monroe doctrine against France in Mexico, and finally disfranchising and helotizing the Catholics of the North. In this fact may be discovered the secret of the *Democratic* movements commenced fall before last, looking to the election of Vallandigham as Governor of Ohio, and in resistance of the draft.

These movements have been gradually gaining strength, by accreting, more and more, other conservative elements, through fear of the permanent subversion of the government and the loss of liberty, until now they are preparing to contest the presidency with the administration. Should they succeed, it is reasonable to conclude, from the character of the underlying element of their organization, if not from the political complexion of all the rest, that an armistice will follow, and that peace will ensue under these circumstances. It is our plain policy to encourage these movements and this organization, as it was, fall before last, to encourage the Northwestern idea. Why should we not avail ourselves of political strategy as well as military strategy? The Republican party, made up of all the elements

of Red Republicanism and Black Republicanism—of Socialism, Fanny Wrightism, Freslovism, Spiritualism, Agrarianism, Abolitionism, and Freesoilism, of “red spirits and white, black spirits and gray”—have, by legal enactments in the Congress, and all their acts in the conduct of the war, declared themselves to be “opposed to any armistice, or intervention, or mediation, or proposition for peace, from any quarter,” and determined upon the “subjugation, confiscation, and extermination of the South.” So long as they continue in power this war will continue, and should Lincoln be re-elected, or be substituted by Seward or by Chase, instead of terminating, it will be renewed with double violence and energy.

ELEMENTS OF YANKEE STRENGTH.

But, when we come to consider and accurately measure the probabilities of the success of the opposition at the North, however rapidly its elements may be concentrating and progressing, and while politically aiding and encouraging the movement, let us not forget that the Republican administration is still backed by a majority in the Congress, by a powerful army and navy, by the influences of an immense patronage, and by all the appliances of power, carrying along martial law and the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* for the suppression of public sentiment. In the latter respect it is to be deeply regretted, now before the country and hereafter in the face of history, that our government should have followed after the infamous example. Had Washington, during the war of the revolution of 1776, when the Congress declared him temporary dictator, instead of declining the office, which he did, proceeded to exercise the powers with which it invested him and suspended the writ of liberty, it is not hazarding too much to say, though no man was so revered as he, that, in the spirit and temper of those times, a thousand daggers would have been driven by the hands of freemen to his heart. During the last war with Great Britain its suspension was never deemed necessary; and during this war, if there ever was a time for its enforcement, that time passed with the first six months of the struggle, when the land overflowed with Yankees and alien enemies. Only one locality now remains in the Confederacy where it can possibly have proper application, and that, I am sorry to say, is Texas, where candor compels me to admit that Unionism, traitorism, and general vil-

lainly stalks abroad in the face of day, with head erect, and in defiance of the State and the Confederate authority. But let this pass. We should, moreover, remember, in estimating the probabilities of party actions at the North, that the conquest of the South and the confiscation of the estates of our landed proprietors is absolutely required by the war debt of the North; and that William H. Seward has boldly announced the perpetuation of rule and perpetuation of war by declaring that, "by the Constitution of the United States Abraham Lincoln was elected President for four years of all the states. That, by the rebellion, he has been debarred from acting as President of eleven of these states; and that the constitution will not be fulfilled in respect to his election until he has served as President for four years of the whole." Let us, therefore, taking advantage of their presidential controversy, and the inevitable temporary and partial remission of their military exertions during its pendency, proceed to concentrate our resources, throw vigor into our arms, and rise up, as one man, to strike them in their weakness. It is only, after all, through triumphant courage and victorious campaigns that peace can be positively assured.

ART. II.—MYSTERY OF THE BRUTE WORLD.*

No one can look upon the animal creation and not be lost in the astonishment excited by their mysterious existence. To what end have they been created? What are their relations toward us? What will be their condition in that future state of which Holy Scripture speaks as "the manifestation of the sons of God," in which "they themselves also shall be delivered from" the present "bondage of corruption, into" a measure of "the glorious liberty of the children of God"?*

This is a subject which deserves a more attentive consideration than has been usually given to it. There were nations of old, and those the most learned and polished in the world, who not only received brutes into their society, but gave them a rank far above themselves, esteeming them familiars and favorites of the gods. In ancient Egypt and other countries various

* Rom. viii, 19-21.

animals received adoration; and as St. Paul remarks, in his Epistle to the Romans (i, 23), "birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things," were made objects of votive veneration. The days of such degrading superstition have passed; but in viewing our own comparative greatness in the scale of creation, let us not do the lower animals injustice, but remember that there is infinitely more in God's universe than man's philosophy has ever dreamed of. In some respects, they even teach and shame proud man; and a living poet* has some beautiful meditations on

"The patient beasts that bear their part
In this world's labor, never asking
The reason of its ceaseless tasking."

Of these simpler creatures he says they

"——— appear to live
To the full verge of their own power,
Nor ever need that time should give
To life one space beyond the hour.
They do not pine with what is not,
Nor quarrel with the things which are;
Their yesterdays are all forgot,
Their morrows are not feared from far;
They do not weep, and wail, and moan,
For what is past, or what's to be,
Or what's not yet, and may be never."

Formerly, and indeed until within the last two centuries, their possession of souls was almost universally disputed; it was common to deny them any kind of reasoning faculty, and to solve their most sagacious actions by the vague word *instinct*. We have come, of late years, to think better of our humble companions; and few at present, who believe in the immateriality of the human soul, would deny the same to at least the higher orders of the inferior animals, however the spiritual being of certain others may revolt our prejudices. Their *body* resembles our own, with its four limbs, its spinal marrow, main organs in the head, and in many other respects; and why should we deny them a kind of soul, equally the rude draught and imperfect imitation of ours? Solomon speaks of "the spirit of man" and "the spirit of the beast;"† and it is a strange, an almost solemn and pathetic thing, to see an intelligence imprisoned in its dumb

* E. Bulwer Lytton.

† Eccles. iii, 21.

rude form, struggling to express itself out of that—even as we do out of our imprisonment in our houses of clay, and succeed very imperfectly.

What ought to mortify and teach us humility in the likeness of brutes to men is, the anger, the revenge, the greediness, and other low passions to which we see them alike subject. It is impossible to look with much reflection at any animal, especially one of what may be called the half-thinking class, and not consider that it probably partakes more of our own thoughts and feelings than we are aware of, just as it manifestly partakes of our senses, and may even possess faculties or perceptions which we are unable to conceive. Indeed, a great philosopher has declared that "the acts, motives, and feelings of the lower order of animals are one of the profoundest mysteries that can exercise the mind of man;" and it was the belief of Plato that the animating principle of the brute creation is but a repressed and mutilated form of the same essence which in man shines forth in the fulness and brilliancy of reason. What, then, is the barrier between us and them—the line which they can not pass? It is not *reason* merely. If we set aside that ambiguous term, and exchange it for the plain word *understanding*, who can deny that brutes have this? We may as well deny that they have sight or hearing. The grand distinction, therefore, between them and us seems to be this: that *we* are capable of knowing, loving, obeying, and enjoying God, which the inferior creatures are not, at least in their present state. This is the specific difference between man and brute—the great gulf which the latter, as now constituted, can not pass over. At the creation God said to man in Paradise, "Have thou dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth;"* in allusion to which the royal and inspired David says: "Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet: all sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field, the fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea, and whatsoever passeth through the paths of the seas."† We thus learn the primeval state of the brute creation from the place which was assigned them in the garden of God. All the beasts of the field and all the fowls of the air were with Adam in Paradise, and there can

* Gen. i, 26.

† Psal. viii, 6-8.

be no question but their state was suited to their place—that it was perfectly happy, and bore a near resemblance to the state of man himself. Now in the original state of both, as a loving obedience to God was the perfection of man, so a loving obedience to man was the perfection of brutes; and as long as they continued in this, they were happy after their kind; happy in the right state and the right use of all their respective faculties. We may even say that so long they had some shadowy resemblance of *moral goodness* itself; for they had gratitude to man for benefits received, and a reverence for him; and had also a kind of benevolence to each other, unmixed with any contrary disposition. They were surrounded with everything that could give them pleasure—pleasure unmingled with pain; for pain was not yet—it had not entered into Paradise. And they were immortal, too; for it was only “by sin” that “death entered into the world.”* God then saw “everything that He had made, and, behold, it was very good.”†

But how far is this from being the present case! In what condition is the whole lower world! In what a state is all animated nature since man rebelled against his Maker! Well might an Apostle (directly referring to the brute world) say “The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now.”‡ Yet nothing is more sure than that as “the Lord is loving to every man,” so “his tender mercy is over all his works”—all that have sense, all that are capable of pleasure or pain, of happiness or misery. “He openeth his hand, and filleth all things living with plenteousness; he prepareth “food for cattle,” as well as “herbs for the children of men; he provideth for the fowls of the air, and feedeth the young ravens when they cry unto him; he sendeth the springs into the rivers that run among the hills, to give drink to every beast of the field, and that the wild asses may quench their thirst.”§ But how, we may again ask, is this reconcilable to the present state of things! How is it consistent with what we daily see around us in every part of the creation? If the Creator and Father of every living thing is rich in mercy toward all; if He does not overlook or despise any of the works of His own hands; if He wills even the meanest of them to be happy, according to their degree; how comes it to pass that such a complication of

* Rom. vii, 12.

† Gen. i, 31.

‡ Rom. viii, 22.

§ Psa. 104.

evils oppresses and overwhelms them? How is it that misery of all kinds overspreads the face of the earth?

This is a question which has perplexed the wisest philosophers in all ages, and it can never be answered without having recourse to the oracles of God. But taking these for our guide, we learn that at the fall of man the intercourse between God and the inferior creatures ceased. Then it was that "the creature," every creature, "was subjected to vanity," to sorrow, to pain of every kind, to all manner of evils. "Not," indeed, "willingly;" not by its own choice, not by any act or deed of its own; "but by reason of him that subjected it;"* by the wise permission of God, determining to draw eternal good out of this temporary evil. By the unhappy fall of our first parents it is probable that the meaner creatures sustained much loss, not only in the lower faculties, but in their understanding, their will, their passions; so that the very foundations of their nature are out of course: and as man is deprived of *his* perfection—his loving obedience to God—so brutes are deprived of *their* perfection—their loving obedience to man. The far greater part of them flee from him, and studiously avoid his hated presence; while most of the rest set him at open defiance, and will destroy him, if they have the power, as their common enemy. A few only, whom we term domestic animals, through the divine mercy retain more or less of their original disposition, and love man still, and pay obedience to him. Setting these aside, what savage fierceness, what unrelenting cruelty, seem to be inseparable from the nature of the brute creation! Not only the lion, the tiger, the wolf, among the inhabitants of the forests and plains—the shark and other voracious monsters of the great deep—or the eagle among birds—but even the harmless fly, the laborious ant, the painted butterfly, are treated in the same merciless manner by the songsters of the grove, who are continually devouring innumerable tribes of poor insects; and few of these creatures can preserve their own lives except by destroying those of their fellow-creatures. Thus, "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men;" and not on men only, but on those creatures also "that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression;"† death, with all its train of preparatory evils—pain, and ten thousand sufferings.

* Rom. viii, 20.

† Rom. v, 12-14.

But is the brute creation to remain always in this deplorable condition? Far from us be such a thought! What original or actual sin have they to expiate? And if they thus innocently suffer in the present state, is there to be no recompense to them hereafter? "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" While "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now," their cries enter into the ears of Him who made them; and we learn from the inspired authority already quoted that He seeth "the earnest expectation" with which the whole animated creation "waiteth" for that final "manifestation of the sons of God" in which "they themselves also shall be delivered from the" present "bondage of corruption into" a measure of "the glorious liberty of the children of God."*

What the Almighty makes, why should He annihilate? Not an atom of matter has ever perished; it may change its forms, but it does not cease to exist; and when "the elements" of the present world shall "melt with fervent heat," we are taught to expect that, purified by the fires of the last great day, there shall emerge from them "a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness."† "The wolf shall then dwell with the lamb, the leopard shall lie down with the kid; the calf and the young lion together, and a little child shall lead them. The cow and the bear shall feed together, the lion shall eat straw like the ox, and they shall not hurt nor destroy in all God's holy mountain."‡ In the new earth, as well as in the new heavens, there will be nothing to give pain, but everything that the wisdom and goodness of God can create to give happiness. As a recompense for what these now inferior creatures once suffered through the tyrant, man, while under "the bondage of corruption," when God has renewed the face of the earth, and their corruptible body shall put on incorruption, they will enjoy happiness without alloy, without interruption, and without end.

We are aware of the prejudices and objections which may exist in the minds of some of our readers in relation to this subject. But we have certainly no more claim on God for immortality than any other creatures into whom He has breathed the breath of life. Mean and vile as they may appear in our eyes, not one of them is forgotten in the sight of our Father who is in heaven; and the view that we have imperfectly presented furnishes a full answer to a plausible objection against the jus-

* Rom. viii. 19-21.

† 2 Peter iii, 13.

‡ Isa. xl, 5-9

tice of God, in suffering numberless creatures that had never sinned to be so severely punished for man's transgression. They could not sin, for they were not moral agents; yet how great have been their sufferings, for which they can have no retribution here below! But the objection vanishes away if we consider that something better after death remains for them also; that they, too, shall one day be "delivered from the bondage of corruption," and receive ample amends for all their present sufferings. Lord Bacon did not think it beneath his philosophy to point out, as a part of human morals, justice and mercy to the lower animals; and "I can hardly persuade myself," says another, "that there is no compensation in a future existence for the sufferings of animals in the present life."

The supposition of brutes having immaterial, sensitive souls, which are not annihilated by death, has been admitted by wise and learned men in past ages: and in the great Bishop Butler's immortal work, the "Analogy of Religion," he pronounces an objection to one of his arguments, as implying by inference the natural immortality of brutes, to be "no difficulty; since we know what latent powers and capacities they may be endued with." It has been well replied to those who object to the hypothesis of an after-life for the brute creation, that it is dangerous for *man* to regard it as absurd; since it is the very conclusion which an intelligence superior to ours, if it knew us only in the same way that we know these despised creatures, would form respecting us. "Is it possible"—he might ask, as he reflected on the immensity and grandeur of God's other works—"that this worm of the dust called man, this creature of a day, who returns to the dust as the beasts do, can aspire to immortality?" We know the fallacy of such an argument; yet certainly an archangel might employ it with much more reason against us than we can against the meanest reptile that crawls.

If it be asked, of what use those creatures will be in a future state? we answer by requesting the objector to consider how little we know of even the present designs of God in their creation; and then we shall not wonder that we know still less of what he designs to do in "the new heavens and the new earth." If we may hazard a conjecture, however, why may it not please the All-wise and All-gracious Creator to raise them then higher in the scale of beings? What if it should please Him, when He

makes us "equal to the angels,"* to make them what we are now—creatures capable of God, capable of knowing, loving, and enjoying the adorable Author of their being? Even now, if we regard the faculty of *reason* as tracing the insuperable line between us and the animal creation, there are some of them beyond comparison more rational beings than a human infant of a day, a week, or even a month old. And who can tell but that, in the universal restitution of all things, when man shall be transported to other abodes, more in character with the eminence of his faculties, the foremost place that he now fills among the works of God in this lower world may be occupied by creatures less inferior to us now than we are to angels?

We shall not vainly attempt to be "wise above what is written" by pursuing these speculations further. In all that has been advanced we have humbly, and we trust reverently, followed the light and guidance of reason and Holy Scripture; and however our views may be received, we are at least sure that we can not err in calling the attention of the serious Christian reader, before we close, to the *practical improvement* in which they may be merged. We have said that the grand distinction between men and beasts in the present state is, that *we* are capable of knowing, obeying, loving, and enjoying God; and if this be so, the inference follows which no man of reason can deny—that he who "lives without God in the world" does, in effect, disclaim the nature of man, and degrades himself into a beast. Such men, by their own act and deed, deliberately and wilfully renounce the sole characteristic of human nature. It is only the Christian who is a man, indeed, and asserts the distinguishing dignity of his nature; while those who "know not God" disown the mark, the only mark, which totally separates men from the brute creation. "As the one dieth," says Solomon, "so dieth the other; so that a man [of this kind] hath no pre-eminence above a beast." Hence the Apostle St. Paul, speaking of such in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, says: "Some have not the knowledge of God: I speak this to your shame." And as such ignorance is the disgrace of human nature, so its highest glory and perfection is, "to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom He hath sent." "This," said He who dwelleth in the bosom of the Father, "this is life

* Luke xx, 36.

eternal."* It is a knowledge most congenial to the nature of man; the human soul was formed for it, and it was man's first and purest bliss in Paradise. Therefore, "thus saith the Lord, Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches; but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth Me."†

ART. III.—PHYSICAL CONDITION AND HEALTH OF THE SOLDIERS.

This is an important subject, particularly now that a large increase is being made to our levies; and one that should be thoughtfully regarded by those who conduct the councils as well as those who command the armies of the Confederacy. Every officer, either of high or low rank, owes it to his country, and to the responsible position in which he is placed, to familiarize himself with the laws regulating health in bodies of men so peculiarly exposed, and whose lives are so important, as those of our soldiers. Ignorance on this subject, the most striking and disgraceful, has too frequently characterized the officers, and the results are often deplorable.

In two or three chapters of a work now before us, by Dr. Chisolm, of South Carolina, on Military Surgery, published in 1861, and already of high repute in the army, there is so much valuable information upon the subject of our text that it would be an acceptable service to make, for the pages of the Review, a brief condensation. The officer or soldier into whose hands it may fall will be profited by its teachings.

The life of the soldier is one of great privation and hardships, and the mortality which results from it constitutes the worst feature in the chapter of war. Nevertheless, in some branches of service, and in certain more favored positions, the physical constitution of the soldiery has been hardened and improved. Thus the troops who protected the approaches to Charleston prior to the capture of Fort Sumter, made up from the clerks, merchants, and professional men of the city, with slight constitutions, were exposed during several months; yet their sanitary

* John xvii, 3.

† Jer. ix, 23, 24.

condition was excellent, and few, if any, returned without greatly improved health and increased vigor. It is also found generally true that soldiers from the wealthier classes of the community, delicately reared, fare much better than the heavy-built yeomanry of the country. The secret, to some extent, is in the greater care which they take of themselves. Besides, the irregular habits of city life and the acclimation to all disorders which results, adapt the individual to the exigencies of the camp. Speaking of the troops indiscriminately levied in the Crimea, an English surgeon says: "Old age, decrepitude, with feeble and bent frames, wrinkled faces, grizzly locks, were seen in youths of two or three and twenty, the effect of two winters' toil, want, and misery."

The statistics of the Mexican war evince the startling difference in mortality from disease among picked and well-selected troops, and indiscriminately received volunteers. Thus, while the old army furnished a loss from deaths, discharges, etc., in 26 months, of less than 2 per cent. per month, the volunteers lost 34 per cent., or 3,839 out of 11,186, or near 2½ per cent. per month. For the whole volunteer force the loss was over 27 per cent., or 20,385 out of 73,260, or 2½ per cent. per month. The above figures include those killed in battle. The old army stood the brunt of all the early engagements, while many volunteer regiments were never under fire. Though the volunteer corps lost only 613 men in battle, or from wounds, out of 73,260, their loss from other causes was 15,617, or 26 per cent. Thus it will be perceived, after all, how little the bullet or the bayonet have to do with the actual casualties of war.

In the Crimean service the contrast is still more terrible. While the total English loss was 22,457, those attributed to the battle-field was but 3,448; and the French lost in the same campaign by death 63,000.

In recruiting for the old United States army such stringent rules were observed that 2,726 only were received in the total number of 16,064 who were examined.

Upon the subject of clothing for troops, Dr. Chisolm remarks that the soldier's coat should be a frock, fitting loosely over the shoulders, with full play for the arms, without binding in any way, and wide in the bottom, so as not to impede the expansion of the chest when closely buttoned. The jacket is a poor costume for soldiers, and exposes the entire body to draughts and

dampness. The trousers should be of good, heavy, woollen material, made also free. Flannel shirts, very long, and drawers of the same material, are of great hygienic value in summer as well as winter. They absorb perspiration, and are a guard against dysentery and diarrhoea. The French soldier envelopes the abdomen in a band of flannel. Woollen socks, for a like reason, should be preferred to cotton. They preserve warmth to the feet and retain an even temperature. The French army are provided with gaiters made of heavy white cloth, covering two-thirds of the foot, and extending as far up the leg as the knee, and the leg is also protected very often by leather greaves, which shut in the bottom of the pants. An overcoat of stout cloth is an important appendage—the hood added by the French protecting the head and neck from the storm or exposure.

With regard to the color, it is known that light colors absorb less than dark, and that the latter retain much longer offensive odors. Besides, on the battle-field, the risk of being struck by the enemy is in the proportion of the brightness of the soldier's costume. The proportion is, for red, twelve; rifle-green, seven; brown, six; Austrian grey, five.

The best military hat in use is a light soft felt, with sufficiently high crown to admit the air over the brain. In a warm climate the light color adds to comfort very much. The havelock, with cape attached, hanging down over the shoulders, protects the neck from sun or night air.

One of the maxims, says Dr. Chisolm, for preserving health in a campaign, is that soldiers must protect themselves in summer from night air by warm clothing. A heavy blanket, and a piece of india-rubber cloth as large, will effect this purpose. The full equipment of a soldier may be set down as two shirts, two pair of woollen socks, two pair of flannel drawers, two pair of shoes, two handkerchiefs, a sponge and towel, needle-case, comb, soap—besides his regular uniform. Also knife, fork, spoon, and canteen.

The soldier should allow his beard to grow, which will give protection to the throat and lungs, and should cut the hair short from the head. A clean skin will prevent fever and bowel complaints, and therefore he should, if possible, wash the entire person, or at least the chest and arms, daily.

The soldier's food should be plain, and nutritious, and well cooked. The English give tea and the French coffee, which

are both better adapted to health than alcoholic drinks. More important, however, than either for the health of troops, is an abundant supply of good water; and in our Southern campaigns the most intense sufferings have resulted from its absence. The French military proverb that "soup makes the soldier," indicates the importance of vegetables as an article of diet. When they can not be obtained, dried vegetables or fruits must be substituted. In the Crimea, lime-juice, citric acid, and sour-cROUT were extensively used to prevent scurvy. Acids are antiscorbutic. A distinguished military surgeon has said that one hundred thousand francs spent in fresh vegetables will save five hundred thousand francs from the expenses of sick soldiers, besides the use of the men for actual service. Biscuits and fresh bread should be supplied when practicable. Bacon is, *par excellence* the soldier's meat, never producing surfeit, easily cooked, and, with its rich juice, always savory and palatable.

But the whole chapter from which we are digesting is well worth the attention of every one having at heart the interest and health of our army, which may almost be said to comprise, or will soon comprise, nearly the entire adult male population of the country. Every other interest and condition is absorbed in this; and must be, until the great problem of our deliverance from intolerable Yankee tyranny shall be solved.

The most important rules relative to the health of soldiers in the field have been condensed and published in convenient form for the use of the Army of Mississippi. We can not do better than incorporate them entire, at the risk of some little repetition:

RULES FOR HEALTH FOR SOLDIERS' USE.

1. In any ordinary campaign, sickness disables or destroys three times as many as the sword.

2. On a march, from April to November, the entire clothing should be a colored flannel shirt, with a loosely-buttoned collar, cotton drawers, woollen pantaloons, shoes and stockings, and a light-colored felt hat, with broad brim, to protect the neck, eyes, and face from the glare of the sun and from the rain, and a substantial but not heavy coat, when off duty.

3. Sunstroke may be prevented by wearing a silk handkerchief in the hat, or a white linen hood hat-cover, extending like a cape over the neck and shoulders.

4. Colored blankets are best; and if lined with brown drilling, the warmth and durability are doubled, while the protection against dampness from lying on the ground is almost complete.

5. Never lie or sit down on the grass or bare earth for a moment; rather use your hat—a handkerchief even is a great protection. The warmer you

are the greater need for this precaution, as a damp vapor is immediately generated, to be absorbed by the clothing and to cool you off too rapidly.

6. While marching, or on other active duty, the more thirsty you are, the more essential it is to safety of life itself to rinse out the mouth two or three times before drinking, and then take a swallow of water at a time with short intervals. A brave French general, on a forced march, fell dead on the instant, by drinking largely of cold water when snow was on the ground.

7. Abundant sleep is essential to bodily efficiency and to that alertness of mind which is all-important in an engagement; and few things more certainly and effectually prevent sound sleep than eating heartily after sundown, especially after a heavy march or desperate battle.

8. Nothing is more certain to secure endurance and capability of long-continued effort, than the avoidance of everything as a drink except cold water, not excluding coffee at breakfast. Drink even cold water very slowly.

9. After any sort of exhausting effort, a cup of coffee, hot or cold, is an admirable sustainer of the strength, until nature begins to recover herself.

10. Unless after a long abstinence or great fatigue, do not eat very heartily just before a great undertaking; because the nervous power is irresistibly drawn to the stomach to manage the food eaten, thus drawing off that supply which the brain and muscles so much needed.

11. If persons will drink brandy, it is incomparably safer to do so *after* an effort than before; for it can only give a transient strength, lasting but a few minutes; but as it can never be known how long any given effort is to be kept in continuance, and if longer than the few minutes, the body becomes more feeble than it would have been without the stimulus, it is clear that its use before an effort is always hazardous, and is always unwise.

12. Never go to sleep, especially after a great effort, even in hot weather, without some covering over you.

13. Under all circumstances, rather than lie down on the bare ground, lie in the hollow of two logs placed together, or across several smaller pieces of wood, laid side by side; or sit on your hat, leaning against a tree. A nap of ten or fifteen minutes in that position will refresh you more than an hour on the bare earth, with the additional advantage of perfect safety.

14. A cut is less dangerous than a bullet wound, and heals more rapidly.

15. If from any wound the blood spurts out in jets, instead of a steady stream, you will die in a few minutes unless it is remedied, because an artery has been divided, and that takes the blood direct from the fountain of life. To stop this instantly, tie a handkerchief or other cloth very loosely between the wound and the heart, put a stick, bayonet, or ramrod between the skin and the handkerchief, and twist it around until the bleeding ceases, and keep it thus until the surgeon arrives.

16. If the blood flows in a slow, regular stream, a vein has been pierced, and the handkerchief must be on the other side of the wound from the heart—that is, below the wound.

17. A bullet through the abdomen (belly or stomach) is more certainly fatal than if aimed at the head or the heart; for, in the latter cases, the ball is often glanced off by the bone, or follows round it under the skin; but when it enters the stomach or bowels, from any direction, death is inevitable under almost all circumstances, but is scarcely ever instantaneous. Generally the person lives a day or two with perfect clearness of intellect, often not suffering greatly. The practical bearing of this statement in reference to the great future is clear.

18. Let the whole beard grow, but not longer than some three inches. This strengthens and thickens its growth, and thus makes a more perfect

protection for the lungs against dust, and of the throat against winds and cold in winter, while in the summer a greater perspiration of the skin is induced, with an increase of evaporation; hence, greater coolness of the parts on the outside, while the throat is less feverish, thirsty, and dry.

19. Avoid fats and all fat meats in summer, and on all warm days.

20. Whenever possible, take a good plunge into any lake or running stream every morning, as soon as you get up; if none at hand, endeavor to wash the body all over as soon as you leave the bed—for personal cleanliness acts like a charm against all diseases, always either warding them off altogether, or greatly mitigating their severity and shortening their duration.

21. Keep the hair of the head closely cut, say within an inch and a half of the scalp in every part, repeated on the first of each month, and wash the whole scalp plentifully in cold water every morning.

22. Wear socks to which you are accustomed, and easy fitting shoes, keeping the toe and finger nails always cut moderately close.

23. It is more important to wash the feet well every night than to wash the face and hands of mornings; because it aids to keep the skin and nails soft, and to prevent chafings, blisters, and corns, all of which greatly interfere with a soldier's duty.

24. The most universally safe position, after all stunnings, hurts, and wounds, is that of being placed on the back, the head being elevated three or four inches only, aiding more than any one thing else can do to equalize and restore the proper circulation of the blood.

25. The more weary you are after a march or other work, the easier you will take cold, if you remain still after it is over, unless, the moment you cease motion, you throw a coat or blanket over your shoulders. This precaution should be taken even in the warmest weather, especially if there is even a slight air stirring.

26. The greatest physical kindness you can show a severely wounded comrade is first to place him on his back, and then run with all your might for some water to drink; not a second ought to be lost. If no vessel is at hand, take your hat; if no hat, off with your shirt, wring it out once, tie the arms in a knot, as also the lower end, thus making a bag open at the neck only. A fleet person can carry a bucketful half a mile in this way.

I have seen a dying man clutch at a single drop of water from the finger's end with the voraciousness of a famished tiger.

27. If wet to the skin by rain or by swimming rivers, keep in motion until the clothes are dried, and no harm will result.

28. Whenever it is possible, do, by all means, when you have to use water for cooking or drinking from ponds or sluggish streams, boil it well, and when cool, shake it or stir it, so that the oxygen of the air shall get to it, which greatly improves it for drinking. This boiling arrests the process of fermentation, which arises from the presence of organic and inorganic impurities, thus tending to prevent cholera and all bowel diseases. If there is no time for boiling, at least strain it well through a cloth, even if you have to use a shirt or trouser-leg.

29. Twelve men are hit in battle, dressed in red, where there are only five dressed in a bluish grey—a difference of more than two to one; green, seven; brown, six.

30. Water can be made almost ice-cool in the hottest weather by closely enveloping a filled canteen or other vessel with woollen cloth kept plentifully wetted and exposed.

31. While on a march, lie down the moment you halt for a rest; every minute spent in that position refreshes more than five minutes standing or loitering about.

32. A daily evacuation of the bowels is indispensable to bodily health, vigor,

and endurance; this is promoted in many cases by stirring a tablespoon full of Indian corn meal in a glass of water and drinking it on rising in the morning.

To have "been to the wars" and acted honorably and bravely is a life-long honor, increasing with advancing years; to have received wounds in defence of our country is as a good title to nobility as an American citizen should wish to attain.

ART. IV.—THE WAR—INDEPENDENCE—WATCHMAN. WHAT OF THE NIGHT!

Popular oratory has for a long time ceased to have any mission in our country, the people being far beyond the orators; and amid the clangor of arms and the exciting scenes which are being enacted the voice of the best speaker would have sounded but hoarse, and been lost in the whirlwind. Things have somewhat altered of late. The springs which moved the revolution have in many cases rusted. The sufferings, the disappointments, the casualties of a protracted war have produced a feeling of depression in many quarters unknown in the earlier days of the struggle. Abuses have sprung up. Public spirit has given way to individual greed; speculation and extortion are abroad, which are sapping the life-blood of the young republic. These were, perhaps, to be expected. They belong to all revolutions. They were complained of in all the pages of the old American War of Independence. Oratory should again resume its mission—to arouse the wavering, to reassure the doubting, to lash the guilty offenders against their country's life, to correct abuses, to trace the parallels of the past and the present, and to draw forth its experiences.

War is defined to be a struggle in which every man in one country is engaged in active hostilities against every man in another. Upon this theory of war it may be asked of every man and woman what part they are performing on the great battle-field, which is not only at Chickamauga, Malvern Hill, Shiloh, and Gettysburg, but here in the heart of the country—in every town, village and hamlet—by every road-side, in every farm-house. The soldier in the field makes up but a small part of the paraphernalia of war. While we honor these noble and

* Written, but not published, several months since, and when the cause of the Confederacy was, in the opinion of many, at a low ebb.—EDITOR.

truly great men, however humble the extraction of any, for their God-like courage, their sublime endurance, their undying constancy, and execrate those who, having all the physical powers for the field, are willing to shrink away under every pretext, and have to be kept to the path of duty by the power of the bayonet—still the battle is not alone in the field. War is not an affair entirely of the sword. The pen is sometimes mightier. The anvil, the axe, the hoe, the needle, and the spinning-wheel are instruments of war as well as the minie rifle. Armies must be *kept in the field*. The statesman may win a victory by the adoption of a measure. The voice of the orator may be as a thousand cohorts on the field. The labors of the husbandman and the mechanic, even of the discreet merchant who equalizes supplies by transportation, the whirling spinning-wheel, the ever-plying needle in the hands of woman, are the unseen machinery which move the great phalanxes of war—are the powers behind the throne, often greater than the throne, and without which it would topple into ruins. The country is entitled to the services of every man, woman, and child within its limits; and upon no theory of duty can any be exempted in a period like this of terrible trials and necessities. It will not do for you to shed your "wife's brother" or your "able-bodied cousin's blood;" you must shed *your own*, if not literally, yet figuratively; shed your wealth, resources, means, time, labor. If you are giving these to yourself, struggling to amass a few more dollars, to save a little here or there, to hold back or conceal, to exact the last cent that the necessities of a suffering people will admit for the bountiful products of your fields or your shops; if you are hoarding instead of scattering, if you are by your example encouraging extravagance, and supporting it—you are a *traitor* to the cause of your country, and as much betraying it into the hands of the enemy as did Benedict Arnold. In the noble struggle of your country for all that man holds sacred and dear, your voice does not ring in clarion notes:

"To arms, to arms, ye brave!
The avenging sword unsheath;"

but is practically heard like that of him who was so unmercifully handled by Patrick Henry, bellowing and resounding through the patriot and suffering camps of our Revolutionary sires—"Beef! beef! beef!"

Our implacable, remorseless, and hated enemy has determined upon our *subjugation*. Will he achieve it? What is your answer? Are you willing, like the rebellious and truant school-boy, to be whipped back to the dominion and the tasks of a despot master? Has it occurred to you to meditate upon the full meaning of that word "*subjugation*?" The Austrian feels a tenderness for the Hungarian whom he has subjugated, the Turk may turn in pity from the Greek he is about to smite, the Briton may raise up from the earth the enslaved Irishman, and the Cossack heel be lifted from the head of the Pole; but expect none of this mercy from a race who, trained by fanaticism to hatred of us in their schools and churches, preach a crusade of *extermination*. Read this in their papers, and see it illustrated in the course of their armies and their legislation. They would arm our slaves and preach domestic murder. Galled by the resistance they have met with, heated by their passions, excited by the hopes of plunder which conquest will give, long jealous of the prestige which the South enjoyed, desperate in their fortunes if deprived of its tribute, which they were unwilling to enjoy under the restraints of the constitution our fathers gave us—they brand us now as "traitors" and "rebels" because vindicating the principles handed down to us, and mete out to us in advance the doom which they will piteously inflict! Think you there is room enough for repentance and pardon, if you were base enough to ask it? Granting that the mere boon of life might be granted—under what circumstances would it be life? Is there hope that your fair homes, and tenements, and possessions would not pass away by forfeiture and attainder; or granting that they would not, could they be enjoyed under the condition of *inferiority* and with the recognized *mastery* of those who have taught us bitterly to return their hatred? Could we face our wives and not blush to meet the faces of our little ones if, yielding the position of the master, we were willing to change places with our slaves? Ye, who are so solicitous of keeping together your odds and ends of property, dream not for a moment the Yankee master would suffer its enjoyment. He has threatened confiscation. He will carry it out. He is heaping up a debt, and riotously expanding it, in the expectation that it will be shifted to your shoulders. Imagine the South subjugated, her people groaning under the debt of their own government, with the colossal debt of the Yankees superadded—Ossa piled

upon Pelion—the giant dies! Cunningly devised taxes will complete the work; and with the negroes liberated and left to roam in idleness and crime, or under despot rule, our fair land would become a hell indeed—a pandemonium more hideous than Milton's. The tale of bricks will be exacted, though the straw to make them has been taken away.

There is no half-way house. We must succeed in this conflict, or all is lost. *Reconstruction* is but a dream of fools, traitors, or weak-minded men at the South and deluded ones at the North. There is no party in favor of it in either quarter. The Democrats have ceased to be a party, if we could even rely upon them in possession of power. Reconstruction is to bring the living and the dead together and to wed them. It is for the father to shake hands and enter into affiliation with the murderer of his children. It is for the wife to claim brotherhood with those red with the blood of her husband. It does not suit Yankee cupidity, and greed, and vindictiveness, as represented by their overwhelming Abolition majorities; and it would be a degradation and a death, with the form of life, to our own people. "Light up the torches of liberty," said Franklin. "Draw the sword and throw away the scabbard," said Washington. Was there reconstruction with these men? *The men who breathed the word in the classic days of the old war were the vile Tories who slunk away out of sight when independence was won.*

Having traced out what is involved in the idea of subjugation, we turn to the other picture—independence. Glorious word! The right to administer our own affairs and enjoy the fruits of our own labors! The possession of a national character and a hard-won and noble reputation throughout the world! Our households no longer threatened by the spoiler! Our loved ones clinging to us in honor rather than degradation! The rich and abundant fruits of our sunny and glorious land gained, and enjoyed, and distributed without let or hindrance! What a land! What untold resources hid in its womb! What associations clinging to it, and what memories and what elements to make up a great character among the nations! Nowhere on the face of the earth are the materials existing so abundantly, though scattered and long unheeded, which go to make up a great and powerful people. Are we worthy of such a land, or will we sacrifice it to our apathy and to the cupidity of the Yankee invader? Classic Greece had no more glorious picture

in history than will our noble South when disenthralled and freed from the shackles which are upon her.

We must not fail in this struggle. *We can not.* The decrees of a just God—the oracular Fates forbid it. No nation worthy to enjoy freedom ever lost it. With a brave and true people there is no such word as fail. At Thy great footstool, oh Ruler of the universe, we ask that our people shall, with one accord, utter the word, and the fiat shall go out and be seized upon by the recording angel—"Be free!"

Three years of the war have passed, and how have they left the belligerents?

Take the case, first, of the enemy. He begun with the sneer that nobody was hurt, and involved in the jest that nobody would be. He raised an army of seventy-five thousand men which was to scatter, in three months, the insurgents. He raised it to three hundred thousand. He called again for six hundred thousand. His million of men have been under arms. Where are they? His thinned columns are unable to advance at any point. They build earthworks at Charleston; they are driven back to the river in Mississippi. The great Army of the Potomac takes shelter under the outworks of Washington. Our desperate enemy, finding that his boasted conquests have availed him little—that he is threatened to be driven from them at every point, and that all his available forces are necessary to hold them without a step further in the line of conquest, cries aloud for more troops. Father Abraham afar off hears. He institutes a draft for six hundred thousand men; riots and blood follow, and sixty thousand men alone answer to the draft.

Mus nascitur. In his dismay he drops the word of command, and resorts to entreaty. Three hundred thousand volunteers are invited to the field. He waits the answer. This exhausted and discarded expedient being again resorted to, is most conclusive of the desperate fortunes of the enemy. The odds are great that he will not get them; but admitting he does, they will not supply the place of his present army, whose time of enlistment largely expires in May next, and who will go home, as all admit, though hell itself should gape.* Bolstered up with the hope of early conquest, charmed with the siren voice of

* Written in February. Subsequent drafts have not materially improved the Yankee armies.

plunder and confiscation, he has kept up his currency to nearly the gold standard. The spell is being broken. The bubble is pierced. It begins to collapse. The day has opened in which the explosion of his grand financial bubble is to occur, by which dismay and ruin shall be scattered from Cape Cod to Brigham Young's dominions. Watch, and wait, and fear not.

And how is it with our noble Confederacy? Conscious of right, she went into this war without any of its machinery—without a government. She called the knightliest of her sons to the helm, and nobly has he held it; and the best evidence that we want of his being the Moses to effect our deliverance is found in this, that no enemy is able to suggest a man he regards fit to be substituted. This man may have faults (who has not?); but who has his heroic qualities, his discretion, his firmness, his faith, his unalterable will, his Christian virtues? With closed ports we have practically been fighting all the world, whose supplies have been lavishly poured out at the feet of the enemy. Yet we have maintained our ground, and hold as much of the soil of the Confederacy available for defence as we did twelve months ago, and are in vastly better condition to meet the future.

1. God has blessed us beyond example with prolific harvests, and made the land everywhere to smile with its teeming vegetation.

2. Industry has been exerted as it has never been exerted before in the Confederacy.

3. The expenses of the war have all been incurred and paid at home, and to our own people.

4. In being shut off from foreign luxuries, hundreds of millions have been saved to the people, while they have lost few or no substantial or necessary enjoyments.

5. Being compelled by the war to remain at home, the vast amounts hitherto carried off to the Yankees in our annual flight in that direction, are distributed among our own people.

6. A debt of several hundred millions, due to the Yankees, is retained in the Confederacy as an offset against their pillage and robbery.

As to the army—

There were in the Confederate States in 1860, with the exception of Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri, 5,581,650 whites. If to these we add one-third the population of the three states

named as contributing to our military strength, and make a deduction of 440,000 for portions of Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Virginia now within the lines of the enemy, there will remain 6,000,000 who are to furnish the fighting quota of the war.

By the census of 1850 there were, in the United States, of all colors and condition, male and female—

Of 20 and under 30 years	4,277,318
30 " " 40 "	2,825,819
40*	862,122
41*	138,019
42*	182,400
43*	163,485
44*	150,387
18*	542,549
19*	471,910

9,184,009

Estimating that the proportion of these ages would be the same under both the census of 1850 and 1860, we have the following:

If the entire population of the United States in 1850 (23,191,876) gave 9,184,009 between the ages of 18 and 45, what number of those ages will be represented by the 6,000,000 within the Confederacy in 1860? Result—2,363,000 in round numbers. Deducting one-half for females, which differs but a fraction from the truth, and the number of males within the ages called out by the President will be 1,181,500.

It is impossible to estimate the number of persons to be exempted for physical causes, from civil employment, or in the workshops, etc., but few will estimate higher than one man in every five. On this basis, the number capable of being brought into the field would be reduced to 945,200: or if the exempts be one in four, the number will be 883,100.

Surely it will be practicable, by a thorough system of conscription, and by narrowing down the exemptions, to bring this army into the field. If it is not done, the fault will be with the officers of the law.

By drafting, and employing negroes for a great variety of positions in the army which are now filled by whites, the effective force of the army will be increased from 30,000 to 50,000 men.

* For the mode of obtaining these ages, see Compend. Census, p. 104, table civil.

The calculations above are made for 1860. The average annual increase of population before that time was three and one-third per cent. It can not have declined since. This, in three years, will be ten per cent. Ten per cent. of six millions will be 600,000. Of this number, as before shown, about one-fifth will be males between the ages of 18 and 45—or 120,000. This will not be far from replacing the actually killed or permanently disabled by the war up to the present time, and go far also toward making amends for the extra mortality of the camp, leaving the actual military strength of the country as before stated.

The increase of population from year to year will, then, keep up the standard of the army.

Should it become necessary to call out the males between the ages of 16 and 18, an addition will be made of nearly 130,000 to the army.

The President's recent call for the ages of 40 and 45 will yield about 100,000.

We may take for granted that in no event, during a long war, can the military strength of the Confederacy be reduced below 700,000 men, if the people are in earnest to win their liberties and avert the terrors of subjugation, and tyrannical and heartless Yankee thralldom. Such an army, being more and more concentrated in the interior, will be able to repel the invader at every point, and exterminate his savage hordes when no longer protected by his gunboats. The loss of our great cities is probable. This occurred in the Revolutionary war, and occurs in most wars; but if the heart of the people is right, never determines the result.

No country which has in the field an army of half a million of men, and is capable of keeping on foot indefinitely such a force, has ever been subjugated in the history of the world. A Yankee army of one million of men must be maintained for many years by the invader to enable him to hold his own and occupy conquered provinces, and such an army has never been massed against us, and will never be.

We have but to stand our ground bravely and nobly for another year, when either the stupendous system of the North will fall to pieces, as there are many indications at present—or what is equally likely, from the signs of the times, foreign intervention will step in and settle the controversy.

As to *foreign intervention*. This is the rock upon which we have well nigh split. As few if any of us believed this war could occur, and the Yankees were even more dubious than ourselves, so none doubted that recognition and intervention were matters of course. Thus for a time our weakness, and thus our inadequate preparation. The wise ones at Richmond and at Washington were no wiser than the stump-orators of Georgia and Mississippi. Cotton was and must be King. Well, "Cotton is King" as much as Charles II in exile. The Pretender must run his course. He will be enthroned again; but long delays may happen. The President told us, the other day, the signs are inauspicious now. As a comment, Lord John Russell seizes our iron-clads; our minister is recalled, and the consuls are dismissed. John Bull, who has long truckled to France, and atoned in shame for Waterloo, now truckles to the Yankee despot. So the great shopkeeper shows his craft. He has too many wares and merchandize at stake. He fears while he hates the Yankee. He knows us only through the distorted mediums of the Yankee press. The war is teaching him but slowly. He favors its continuance. It must go on till both sides are exhausted. A hated rival must be reduced low. Monarchy must be vindicated. A thousand humiliations of the past must be avenged. So the poor boon of recognition, so long earned, is withheld; so public law is falsified; so guns are supplied to the Yankees, but gun-boats are withheld from us. It is cheaper to support his starving millions, discharged from the cotton-works, than to encounter Yankee ire and Yankee fleets, even if honor be thrown into the scale. Well, *we can do without John Bull better than, in the future, he can do without us.* The lesson will not be lost. Let him cling to Exeter Hall and the negro. It lost to him the West Indies; and, like the fox without a tail in the fable, he regards that appendage a deformity. There are more hopes of France. A wise and liberal man controls that empire. He has his plans. They are vast, but are inconsistent with either English or Yankee domination. As certainly as our fathers looked across the British channel in 1776, may we look there now. The movement upon Mexico is but that of a dotard and a fool, if it does not involve recognition and intervention. The hour is not yet, but approaches. The historical moment will not be allowed to pass. The future destinies of France are involved. A great theatre of future wealth and commerce is opened to her.

Never let us doubt that, come what may, and however long the day be postponed, and our sufferings in the meanwhile, it is no part of the intentions of the monarchies across the water that we shall be subjugated and blotted out, and the insolent, intolerant, and now detested flag of the old Union be raised again, and float in triumph from the St. Lawrence to the frontiers of Mexico.

Our enemy may take this to himself for his consolation—and it is uttered with due deliberation and with a full knowledge of the sentiments of the people at large—that, in the dread contingency, not now foreseen, of the necessity of a surrender of our arms and the relinquishment of the struggle, there is no sacrifice at which the Confederacy will hesitate. There is nothing so dear, in institutions and forms of government, that it will not be offered on the altar, so that the *substance* of liberty be secured; and there is no master on the face of the earth whose yoke would not be more tolerable than that of the despot who defiles the chair of Washington.

There can be no doubt of our capacity to continue this war for any number of years. Even with the loss of the sea-coast and the rivers, the great interior could hold out forever. Yet the war is not likely to be a long one. We have given the reasons. Let our people, therefore, endure the fiery ordeal with patience and fortitude—trust in God, but keep their powder dry. It was not until after the fall of Charleston, in the old war, that the historian tells us the colonists were truly aroused. It proved a blessing. So have we found it with New Orleans, and it may be with Vicksburg. What are our sufferings, after all, compared with those who have courted liberty in other lands? Remember the long struggles of Holland; think of the glorious wars of Frederic the Great, in which the resources of little Prussia were found enough to arrest a continent in arms. Read the history of those wars again, if you would imbibe confidence and courage. Or turn to the chronicles of George Washington. Take Botta's history, which is better than Bancroft's. Refer to the third year of the war, and read, and blush that you have spoken of present difficulties and trials.

The question of the finances is the most serious one, perhaps; that is upon us. No matter who is responsible, it is evident that we all counted without our hosts in this war. Things have reached a point that this must be amended. We begun wrong. Two years of the war were allowed to pass without

taxation; and the cotton crop, which was a vast fund which might have been banked upon at home and abroad, has availed us but little. Our resources were vast. We have not used them, or have allowed them to be wasted, and thus apparent bankruptcy—apparent only! We care not what the amount of the debt. Make it \$2,000,000,000. It is not more than half of that. There is little possibility of its exceeding that. At five per cent. this is \$100,000,000. Five cents on every pound of cotton exported would pay this interest, and leave the other resources of the country, and its domestic taxes, to sink the capital of the debt and defray the other expenses of the government. This is but half the debt of Great Britain, which is virtually paid by a population not larger than our own, who, besides, support millions of paupers. True, the capital of Britain is vast and ours small; but, as a set-off, we have a capital in the soil, and the skies, and the power of production, which they have not; and each operative is, in fact, with us the representative of hundreds and thousands in capital, though he controls none but his head and his hands. The man who earns three thousand dollars a year represents a capital, at interest in England, of \$100,000, and is thus worth that sum.

The manufacturing products of the old government reached \$2,000,000,000. Say that ours, after peace, shall be half that sum; and who can doubt that they will reach a quarter of it? Twenty per cent. of this would pay our interest. We were accustomed to pay fifty and even one hundred per cent. practically, on Yankee products.

Our agricultural products, before the war, or the sum of our exports and imports, reached \$500,000,000. A tax of twenty per cent. in either case gives the \$100,000,000 for our interest. We have now a *tithe in kind*, which takes half that amount, and where is there anybody hurt by it?

All that is wanted is the integrity to grapple with this debt; and who can doubt that a nation which has developed so many virtues in its infancy will maintain its integrity throughout?

Peace will bring a tenfold increase of our industry, and develop sources of revenue and taxation which are inexhaustible. We have been in the colonial condition. We have passed from it. The sum of the colonial commerce, in round numbers, was about as follows, in exports and imports:

Colonies.		Independent States.	
1774.....	\$16,000,000	1791.....	\$50,000,000
1775.....	10,000,000	1791.....	51,000,000
		1801.....	200,000,000

Therefore the extent of the national debt should not seriously disturb any good citizen, but every effort should be made for its reduction; and this can be done in a most important degree by reducing the circulation, which, operating upon prices, has tended to put everything up to ruinous rates, and thus vastly increased the expenses of the government.

Since the preparation of the above essay upon the "Contingencies of the War," much has happened to change the whole current of popular opinion upon the subject. If a doubt might have been entertained of the eventual success of the Confederacy, that doubt may be regarded at an end. Our enemy has manifestly broken down. His finances are falling into disorder; his army is wilting away, and can not be restored in numbers or in heart; his own people, disgusted with the wickedness and alarmed by the aggressions of their government, are fast getting ready to listen to any terms which will promise to restore peace, order, and republican government.

On the other hand, the finances of the Confederacy are growing better. Its army, largely increased, stands hopeful, but proud and defiant, and is, at every point of the compass, triumphant, and boiling over with the *gaudia certaminis* without which the soldier can not expect victory. Everywhere throughout the scourged but now classic and heroic land of Dixie sounds of rejoicing are going up that the dark valley has been passed, and that the glorious light of liberty and independence is about to break upon us.

In this proud hour it behooves us all to bow down reverently and offer to the Great Ruler of the universe, to whom *alone* indebtedness is acknowledged, thanksgiving, in that He has "brought forth his people with joy and his chosen with gladness."

"He brought them out of darkness and the shadow of death." May we not soon add: "And the waters covered their enemies: there was not one of them left."

Mobile, May 15, 1864.

ART. V.—HONORABLE CHARLES PINCKNEY, LL.D., OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

BY W. S. E., OF S. C.

With how holy a tread do we enter the precincts of that temple beneath whose dim aisles repose the ashes of our Revolutionary Fathers! We come around its chancel and offer oblations at the altar; but as in deep reverence we walk among their tombs, and with no profane touch brush away the accumulated dust to gather a date or an inscription, we lament the ruthless manner in which Time has treated their monuments. Time, like Saturn of old, seems only satiated by destroying that which it has produced—decay, the inscription vouchsafed to all terrone; and the great work of those men, like themselves, is already crumbled and within the domain of the illimitable Past. The existence of the American Republic is ended. The shelter reared for succeeding generations by those whose names are now classic, whose blood had cemented its pillars, whose energy, intellect, and character had given it a fair prosperity, whose lives, fortunes, and honor had been pledged to its defence, has fallen, and in its fall had well nigh crushed the spirit to which it was dedicated. The priests had polluted the offering and defiled the sacrifice, and now the people come no longer to worship at its once common altar, for its fire is quenched for ever. The prediction of Judge Story has been realized. The prophetic wisdom of those eloquent words addressed to reason, not to passion, have been verified. There is no longer a doubt for whom the following picture, as drawn by him in his Commentaries, was intended: "The fate of other republics—their rise, their progress, their decline, and their fall—are written too legibly on the pages of history, if, indeed, they were not continually before us in the startling fragments of their ruins. They have perished, and perished by their own hands. Prosperity has enervated them, corruption has debased them, and a venal population has consummated their destruction. They have listened to the fawning sycophant and the base calumniator of the wise and good. They have revered power more in its high abuses and summary movements than in its calm and constitutional energy, when it dispensed blessings with an unseen and liberal hand. Patronage and party, the triumphs of a leader, and the discontents of a day, have outweighed all

solid principles of government. Republics are created by the virtue, public spirit, and intelligence of its citizens. They fall when the wise are banished from the public councils because they dare to be honest, and the profligate are rewarded because they flatter the people in order to betray them." Character had become an almost certain ban of exclusion; chicanery ruled the hour; the elevated tone, the high manhood and knightly courtesy for which those old halls were once famous, had been superseded by the grossest vulgarism, and the refined gentleman had given place to the "*novus homo*," with his basest attributes. Indeed, one can not but recall the historian's description of the Roman Republic, just as it was in a state of preparation for a master: "*Sed postquam luxu, atque desidid civitatis corrupta est; rursus respublica, magnitudine sua, imperatorum atque magistratum vita sustentabat, ac veluti effota parentum multis tempestatibus, haud sane quisquam Romæ virtute magnus fuit.*" These words were written before the Christian era, and certainly not least among their verifications will stand that example furnished by this nineteenth century. The future historian need seek no further for the cause of its downfall, and melancholy will be the picture he must draw of that country which was always claimed by its citizens as the theatre on which was ever to be exhibited the ennobling spectacle of MAN WITH ALL HIS RIGHTS.

The contrast is startling, when we compare the area occupied by the State of South Carolina on the map of the republic with the influence she has ever exercised over its destiny. One of the old Thirteen who gave it existence, she was ever firm in its support. Around her circled no insignificant portion of its glory; yet she first shadowed its destruction and blotted out its name. There is no remarkable event in the history of the country in which this state has not acted a conspicuous and prominent part. She has ever been illustrated in peace by intellectual eminence, and in war by heroic gallantry. The name of Pinckney is one of the most brilliant and cherished in the records of South Carolina. From her first settlement, through colonial times, it stands gracefully in the annals of the old republic, and that in its palmiest day, as having been borne by generals and statesmen, diplomatists and orators.

Charles Pinckney, a man who holds a conspicuous place in the political history of this country, was born in the year 1758,

and was the eldest son of Colonel Charles Pinckney, who was President of the Convention of South Carolina in 1776, and President of the Council in 1780. His birth is thus noted in the family Bible: "Born in Charlestown, Province of South Carolina, May 18th, 1758, Charles, first child of Charles Pinckney and Frances Brewton, his wife." At this period not the semblance of a college existed in the province. He was educated by Dr. Oliphant, who at that period was the principal school-master in the city. His aptitude was great in acquiring languages, and he became proficient in those of Greece, and Rome, and France, and, later in life, with the Spanish and Italian tongues. He was ardent in the pursuit of literature; and, under the direction of his father, then a leading member of the bar, he was nursed into all the acquirements essential to public utility, and this is evidenced by the high rank he afterwards attained as a civilian. He was in due time a student of law, and was admitted to the practice; but his turn of mind was political, and, possessing an ample fortune, he indulged his taste. In early manhood he became a decided Whig, and did all in his power to aid his state in her resistance to the tyranny and oppression of North and But. He did not long remain unknown. The political climate was adapted to accelerate the development of talent and patriotism. The people felt that higher destinies awaited them than colonial inferiority. But ere those destinies could be realized they discerned the tempest of desolation which was to test their fortitude. The crisis was gloomy, but Charles Pinckney did not hesitate; he sided with republicanism and his country, in defiance of monarchy, with all its terrors and all its allurements.

In the year 1779, when just eligible, he was elected a member of the Provincial Legislature from Christ Church parish—a representative of the true patriarchal Republican party—of those patriots who underwent the Seven Years' War—of those who established the republic itself. In the succeeding year our state suffered the terrible disaster of being overpowered, when the citizens, as is the custom of nations in general, capitulated. Romantic as was the determination, yet it was formed and executed by a few, not to submit; and among them was Charles Pinckney. Some time after they were taken prisoners, and upon giving their parole were sent by the British, in the schooner Pack-Horse, to St. Augustine, where they were

detained for a considerable time. A remonstrance against this act of perfidy was decided upon, and, though the youngest of the committee, this was penned by him.* Thus it appears that Mr. Pinckney's first essay was from on board a prison-ship.† History here ought to preserve a fact which should ensure perennial blessings on South Carolinians for their Christian magnanimity, when it is remembered that some of our most important and dignified offices have been occupied by the descendants of the very men who held commissions in the guard which conducted these captives to the prison-ship.

In two years the tide of fortune changed. The depressed were in the ascendant. Upon this event the first question among the successful was—not what deep vengeance shall we inflict—but how shall we demonstrate to our hostile brethren that their aberrations are obliterated, “and that the victory of a republican is a triumph for his country and not for himself.” Mr. Pinckney, with zeal and efficiency, advocated mercy and liberality. His speech on this occasion is replete with pathos, strong illustrations, and correct anticipations of a generous policy. The wisdom and necessity of repealing the Confiscation act has been doubted. But it is the precept of our religion that for evil we must reciprocate good; and the proceeding of Robespierre, which ensanguined the *academia* of the world, should teach us that the success of a vindictive faction is neither the triumph of man nor of liberty. Sooner should we efface the deeds of valor than those of humanity from the annals of the republic.

The ability exhibited on these various occasions induced the legislature, in the year 1784, to appoint Mr. Pinckney (being then in his twenty-seventh year) one of the delegates to the old Congress. In this situation he remained three years; and a reference to the journals for that period will prove that there was not a more diligent and indefatigable member than himself, nor one who transacted a greater portion of the public business. Soon after being enrolled in the general council of the republic a subject of great solicitude arose—the abandonment of the Mississippi. Mr. Pinckney united with Mr. Monroe in strenuous

* See the Republican Platform and Address, where an account of Mr. Pinckney's services are given.

† Col. Balfour's letter and answer, and all the proceedings, are preserved in “Ramsey's Revolution in South Carolina,” vol. 2, pp. 540.

opposition to this measure. In 1787 he was elected a delegate to the Federal Convention called for the formation of the Constitution of the United States, and to which his name is affixed. Though the youngest in that august body, which was composed of the most eminent men from every part of the Confederation, yet he has ever been ranked among the most conspicuous in eloquence and ability. He submitted and advocated a plan of government prepared by himself,* the greater part of which was adopted by the convention and incorporated in the present constitution†—so much so, that he has always been considered as entitled to the high and honorable designation of “THE FATHER OF THE CONSTITUTION.” Young as he was, and surrounded, too, as he was, by the most eminent sages and statesmen of the country, to have assumed and maintained such a position in such a body, as to have caused their work literally and emphatically to be identified with him as his, is certainly an honor of no ordinary character. Of the various propositions which he originated, there is one which, though not a part of the constitution, yet the people appear to have adopted it in practice. This is, that the President’s tenure should be seven years, and afterwards ineligible.‡ The proceedings of this august assembly were rendered more solemn by the place in which they were held—the hall in which the American States first declared

* The original draft, in his own handwriting, with notes and interlinations, was preserved among his papers. This draft was made in Charleston before the writer thereof had any opportunity of conference with his coworkers, and carried with him to the convention. It was submitted to the committee which reported the Federal Constitution, which is almost a reproduction of Mr. Pinckney’s scheme, with a few vicious departures. The whole arrangement of the Federal Constitution as to preamble, articles, sections, clauses, etc., as well as its powers and limitations, originated with this great and ingenious mind. Among the deviations from the original plan reported by the committee was the alteration of the style of the Federation (in which the names of all the states parties thereto were enumerated) into the “We, the People of the United States.” This was done for brevity, as expressly stated by Judge Iredell, of North Carolina, in the convention of that state adopting the constitution. This unhappy expression, though well understood at the time, has been a fruitful source of mischief, which has finally destroyed the Union which the Constitution was intended to perfect, and given birth to the Yankee notion which has supplanted the work of our fathers, while it despises their counsels and disgraces their virtues.

† Madison Papers, volume 2, pp. 700, 945, 1,085, 1,098, 1,118, 1,156—Constitution of the United States.

‡ This feature is adopted in the Constitution of the Confederate States, by which the President’s term is six years, and afterwards ineligible.

their independence. He often mentioned to his friends that, though habituated to debate, yet on first rising before such a body, and on a spot so sanctified, he experienced an awe to which he had been a stranger. Mr. Pinckney advocated an energetic general government. He had witnessed the inadequacy of the old Confederation. On one occasion he had acted as chairman of a committee to New Jersey, when great exertion was necessary to persuade that state to discharge her quota for the support of the government.* He was also familiar with other instances of national imbecility. It was, therefore, natural that he should desire a system of more vigor.

Upon the conclusion of his services in the first Congress and the Federal Convention, the venerable and celebrated University of Princeton, New Jersey, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. The diploma is signed by the distinguished William Livingston as Governor of the State, and by Dr. John Witherspoon as President of the University, and ten curators. It expressly declares in the diploma "*that it is conferred on account of high acquirements, learning, and abilities, and particularly for his distinguished services in Congress and the Federal Convention.*" The following letters will show the appreciation felt by the Senate and Convention of South Carolina for Mr. Pinckney's services:

"CHARLESTON, January 15, 1788.

"SIR: I can not sufficiently express my satisfaction in being the instrument of conveying to you the very honorable testimony of the approbation which the Senate of South Carolina has given of your conduct in the Federal Convention; and in pursuance of the command which I have received from the House I do, in their name, give you their unanimous thanks for your great attention to and your faithful discharge of the duties of your appointment as one of the delegates of this state in the Federal Convention held at Philadelphia.

"I have the honor to be, etc.,

"JOHN LLOYD,

"President of the Senate.

"HON. CHARLES PINCKNEY."

* The whole proceeding and the speech of Mr. Pinckney is preserved in "Carey's American Museum," vol. 2, pp. 153, 154.

"IN SENATE.

"CHARLESTON, May, 1788.

"To the Honorable Charles Pinckney:

"The Convention of the People of the State of South Carolina having considered and ratified the constitution proposed for the Government of the United States, have directed me to return you their unanimous thanks for your service and conduct in the late Federal Convention. The gratification I receive in communicating this public acknowledgment can only be exceeded by those finer feelings which must be excited in your breast by the consciousness of having merited this honorable testimony of your country's approbation.

"I have the honor to be, etc.,

"THOMAS PINCKNEY,

"President of State Convention."

At the conclusion of the grand Federal Convention for forming the Constitution of the United States, in 1787, Mr. Pinckney having an intention to go to Europe the following year, General Washington and Dr. Franklin offered him letters to their friends in France. The general accordingly sent him letters to Count Rochambeau, the Marquis de Lafayette, the Duke de Biron, and the Marquis de Chattellieux, all of them military men; and Dr. Franklin to those distinguished men—M. LeRoy, Director-General of the Royal Academy of Sciences; to the Duke de Rochefcault, and the Abbé Chalat Arnould. As Mr. Pinckney, when in Paris, became acquainted with all these gentlemen through M. Talleyrand and M. Marbois, there was no necessity of his parting with these letters, which, being in the handwriting of Washington and Franklin, he desired to preserve.* He

* These letters were all brought home by Mr. Pinckney on his return, and, with many others, were among his papers. The letters are, in substance, the same. Copies of the only two now remaining in my possession are given below:

"To Monsieur LeRoy, Director of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris.

"DEAR FRIEND: This will be delivered to you by the Honorable Mr. Pinckney, member of Congress for South Carolina, and one of our late assembly *des notables*, for forming a new Federal Constitution. He is a gentleman whom I highly esteem, and I think our friend, M. de Malesherbes, as well as yourself, will be much pleased with his conversation, as he is perfectly acquainted with our public affairs. I am rejoiced to hear from you that M. de Malesherbes is again in the ministry. The king does himself honor in the choice of such wise and good men to serve the public

describes his tour in Europe as most delightful. In England, much of his time was devoted to visiting her renowned sites—her Roman, baronial, monastic, and regal ruins. He delighted in viewing those old castles which have given a legend lore to that land, erected during the Dark Ages, remnants of the mighty struggles of her early days. He gathered a large store of anecdote and story associated with these spots, and preserved them with great care. Much pains were taken to collect inscriptions from monuments and statues, and accounts of the different abbeys and ruins he had visited; and these were frequently interspersed with reflections aroused by the scenes.* Many of these papers are ill-used by time, and much of them, perhaps, obliterated.

With the same method and perseverance, he filled his journal while in Scotland and Wales; but decidedly the most valuable and interesting is that portion relating to France, as it contained notes of conversations with the various distinguished men of the country, the subject upon which they discoursed at

in great offices, and it bodes good to the nation. I commend warmly to you a civilizes the worthy American, and beg you to believe me, as ever,

"Yours affectionately,

"B. FRANKLIN."

"M. LeRoi."

"PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 16, 1787.

"MY DEAR MARQUIS: Permit me to introduce Mr. Pinckney, the bearer of this, to your friendly attentions. He is a gentleman of fortune, family, and character, a member of Congress, and delegate to the Federal Constitution from the State of South Carolina. Having a desire to travel, I take the liberty of introducing him to you as a gentleman of great information and worth, with whose acquaintance you will be pleased. From repeated proofs and assurances, you know already how much and how sincerely I am, your affectionate friend and obedient servant,

"GEO. WASHINGTON."

"THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE."

*He appeared particularly impressed with those of Netly Abbey, of which he says: "The charter of this abbey was granted by the Third Henry in 1251, in which it is called *Ecclesia sancte Marie de loco sancti Edwardis*. It is now a complete ruin, and its attraction is in the singular loveliness of the spot, and the feelings inspired by the overthrown and desolate state of the ancient seat of piety. No mind, having any imagination or feeling for the picturesque and poetical, but must feel the effect of its lonely and mournful yet exquisitely beautiful seclusion.

"I have mused here with great delight, and regretted when my visit terminated. It has produced such an impression, and the scene has so wound itself around my thoughts, that twice since I first saw it have I been drawn to it, going out of my course. I always felt and wished 'for one more view.'"

the dinner-table, the receptions, the club parties, and the views expressed by each, with the arguments by which they were either sustained or controverted. "These talks" were either political, literary, or scientific. Appended in a note is a list of some of the papers in this bundle, all of which are in his own handwriting.*

After visiting Switzerland, Venice, and Rome, he appeared to have intended a tour into the East; but, from some cause now unknown, he retraced his steps, and, after a short reunion with his friends in France, he sailed for his home, which he reached in 1789, and was soon after elected Governor of South Carolina, in opposition to the Hon. Rawlins Lowndes. While governor he was elected to and made President of the State Convention for forming the constitution, to which his name, as president, is affixed. In that convention he drew and presented a draft of a constitution, and his active and arduous exertions as a member of that body is fully evinced by a reference to its proceedings.† In 1791 he was a second time chosen governor, and served until 1793. In 1795 Mr. Pinckney delivered, in St. Michael's Church, Charleston, a powerful speech in opposition to the treaty formed by Mr. Jay.‡ It was much admired, and was copied in the Northern and many of the English and French prints. It was on this occasion that the old Republican party was permanently formed; and surely it is neither flattery nor exaggeration to class Mr. Pinckney as among the leading and most eminent of its founders.

In 1796 he was a third time elevated to the gubernatorial chair and served until 1798, when he was elected a Senator to Congress. On this, his proper theatre, from the time that Mr. Pinckney took his seat in the Senate until he was appointed

* I. Dinner at M. Talleyrand's—topics discussed—persons present. Style of a French dinner-party.

II. Names and description of several ladies with whom I conversed. A soirée. The style, grace, and wit of the French.

III. A day with M. Marbois and the Marquis. French view of America.

IV. Memo. of the pictures, gardens, public buildings in Paris.

V. Discussion at the club with M. LeRoy and Charlat Arnaud on the politics of America.

VI. A view of the French capital and the French people, as seen by an American.

† For his speeches and propositions in that body, see "Journal of the Debates of the State Convention of South Carolina," collected and published in 1830, by the late Benjamin Elliott, "for private distribution."

‡ This speech is preserved in the "American Remembrancer" for 1795, p. 1.

Minister to Europe, his displays and exertions were as conspicuous and unremitted as those of any individual in the country. He was the leader of the Republican party in the Senate—the incessant opposer of Mr. Adams' administration. His speeches on having impartial juries drawn by lot in the Federal courts; on the independence of the judiciary, for the purpose of preserving them from presidential influence; on the attempt in the Senate to place the election of President under the control of a grand committee, who should be authorized and empowered to decide on the qualification of voters; on the defined privileges of Congress; on the liberty of the press, dreadfully attacked by the Senate in the case of Duane, editor of the *Aurora*, and on the intercourse bill with France—are fair specimens of his energy, his intellect, and his patriotism.*

Mr. Pinckney continued in the Senate until 1801, when Mr. Jefferson tendered him the appointment of Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain, and he was empowered to purchase a valuable portion of Louisiana and Florida. It happened, however, that the former had been sold to France by Spain before Mr. Pinckney arrived in Europe. The contiguity of Florida to Cuba, and the command it would give the United States over the West Indies, together with the small amount he was authorized to offer (it being, in the opinion of the Prince of Peace and Mr. Cevallos, with whom he negotiated, not one-third of its value), rendered him unable to accomplish the end desired. Nor was the special commission in which Mr. Monroe was associated with him able to effect it. During his continuance in Spain it was the good fortune of Mr. Pinckney, contrary not only to the general expectation of the people, but it is believed of the administration itself, to prevent the impending war between the two governments. It is well known what a ferment of exasperation was excited in the country, and particularly in the West, in 1802, in consequence of the Intendant of New Orleans having closed the deposit which had, all along, been allowed to the citizens of those states for their produce at that city. War was immediately expected and called for in and out of Congress.

*Speech on disputed election of President and Vice-President.—*So. Ca. Gazette*, Sept. 11, 1800.

Political addresses, signed "Republican."—*So. Ca. Gazette*, October, 1800.
Duane matter, 2 Benton's Debates, pp. 408—418; Judiciary, 2 Benton's Debates, p. 419.

The government preferred negotiation, and in this Mr. Pinckney was successful. The deposit was restored, and the measures which were then adopted, and the evident necessity of the purchase, eventually led to the acquisition of Louisiana. In this transaction Mr. Pinckney had an equally arduous task to execute, which was to persuade Spain to confirm the sale by France to the United States. When, in conformity with his duty and instructions, he announced to the Court of Spain the purchase of Louisiana, they appeared astonished, and the king positively denied the right of France to sell—it having been, as he asserted, one of the conditions of the sale to Napoleon that he should not dispose of it to others. It was the wish of Spain that France should retain it. She desired it for many reasons, and particularly that she might have France as a barrier to her South American dominions. The Marquis Vurico, who was the minister, was ordered to protest against the sale to the United States, which was necessarily a disagreeable occurrence, as it was particularly desirable, under the existing circumstances of our country, that there should be no defect in the title. Here also it was Mr. Pinckney's good fortune to succeed, and, notwithstanding the indignation which had been occasioned by the transfer, to obtain a complete agreement and ratification of it.

While in Spain Mr. Pinckney also succeeded in effecting a convention with the king for the adjustment of difficulties and the payment of spoiliations, which was ratified by the Senate. But in consequence of subsequent misunderstanding with Spain in relation to the boundary of Florida and our occupation of Mobile and the adjacent country, the king refused to carry it into execution. On his return to South Carolina (1806) Mr. Pinckney was, for the fourth time, honored with the government of the state, and he is the only citizen who has been so frequently elected to the executive chair. While in Spain Mr. Pinckney closely observed the manners, customs, and rites of that people, and some of the most lengthy and valuable portions of his journal are devoted to these subjects. He seems to have had great fondness for that country, and to have been a great admirer of its ladies; indeed, of all of his travels, he seemed to have lingered with most pleasure over his sojourn here.

After this date he retired for many years from public life, and employed himself between the attention required by his private affairs and in revising and adding to his notes of "Travels in

Europe"—the latter then enlarged by descriptions of the various public men with whom he had been acquainted, and discussions of public matters which had engaged his attention during his active and laborious life.

His magnificent library, on which he had spent a fortune, and the elegant pictures and works of art by the first masters, which he had collected with great care, are worthy here of a notice; but we have only space to rapidly close this article, already over our limit. That we could not go more at length, and mingle his social with his political life, we can only regret. We hope at some future day to do more justice to the materials in our possession. We feel satisfied a judicious use of them would be an addition to the political and literary store of the South. There is much which would delight and much which would instruct us.*

In 1818 he was elected, under great party excitement, to the House of Representatives by Charleston district, and he closed his political life with his able and admirable speech in opposition to the Missouri Compromise.†

The eloquence of Mr. Pinckney was luminous, fervid, and without acrimony. His enunciation was full, ardent and impressive. His memory was not only tenacious but comprehensive, recalling not merely the prominent facts of an event, but minute circumstances. Gifted with unusual colloquial powers, urbane in manners, with a temper of great amenity, he always added to social intercourse. He was visited with his portion of mortal frailty—a friend who had made his sacrifices. Adversity presented him with a chalice often overflowing, yet he abandoned neither hope nor his equanimity; and after a life of utility and vicissitude, on Saturday morning, November 13, 1824, at the age of sixty-six, calmly sank into that sleep where ambition

* Among his papers are the following:

1. The pictures and arts of Madrid.
2. The Court of Ferdinand VII; descriptions of the distinguished donnas; the amusements of the people; the king's levees; the bull fight (a very lengthy paper).
3. Reflections on the Spanish character; their rites, customs, and manners; comparison with the French.
4. The Marquis Vurico and other state officers.
5. Secret diplomacy in relation to the purchase of Louisiana, and other matters connected therewith.
6. General notes of travels in Spain.

† Vide Niles' Register, volume 18, p. 349.

can not excite, nor the pains of misfortune again invade. His body lies interred in the hallowed cemetery of "Old St. Philip's," in Charleston. He left three children, none of whom are now alive: two daughters, one of whom intermarried with the Hon. Robert Y. Hayne, the other with Dr. David Ramsay; and one son, the late Hon. Henry Laurens Pinckney.

We here close this meagre sketch of the life and services of CHARLES PINCKNEY—a man who won the honorable designation of "Father of the Constitution"—who four times filled the gubernatorial chair of South Carolina—who was distinguished in the diplomacy of his country, and who has left to his posterity an elevated example of intellect, eloquence, and learning—a representative of those knightly days upon which we look back with so much pride, and in the elegance and courtesy of which we delight to school our children—a representative of those, our fathers, who, as their forms rise before us, we bend in devout reverence.

ART. VI.—PARTIES AND PARTYISM.

Freedom of opinion and popular institutions necessarily beget political parties. God has so constituted men that uniformity of sentiment can exist to but a very limited extent, and in the very organization of free government contrariety of opinion will develop itself at almost every step. There will be an affirmative and a negative to each suggestion, and men will be found as earnestly to deprecate, as others will be to advocate, every proposition. Even a careless observer will not be long in remarking that the same individuals generally concur in sentiment and harmonize in action. Association and co-operation soon crystalize into party organizations, and these organizations, in spite of changing circumstances and changing constituents, with greater or less distinctness, maintain their identity through all subsequent history. Each new member of society, as he enters upon the stage of active life, naturally assumes position with the one or the other. The affected impartiality of no-partyism is an anomalous frame of mind. Partyism is as natural as thought. Who ever witnessed or read of a prize-fight, a horse-race, or even a cock-fight, without

a consciousness of sympathy for the one combatant or the other? Much less, who ever heard of the shock of armies, or the conflict of masses, with a feeling of perfect indifference as to the result?

We must expect party lines and party divisions at no distant day in our infant Confederacy. Deprecate it as you may, it is inevitable, and that too, perhaps, before the cessation of hostilities with the United States. But it need not, we believe it will not, embarrass our armies. The exigency of the hour ensures the earnest consecration to the public weal of the best energies of the best men of the South, and so long we have nothing to fear. You need not dread the control of government by party if the educated intelligence and moral worth of the country will, as it may, control party. But if our public affairs are to be relinquished by those who ought to control them, into the hands of pot-house politicians and office-seeking demagogues, dark indeed is the future before us.

Old party issues, we are very thankful, are buried for ever. The Constitution of the Confederate States estops controversy upon nearly all of the mooted questions of by-gone days. We propose not now to inquire upon what basis parties will be organized, nor would we say one word to provoke or suggest an early organization. We simply know that such organization must take place; and now, while we may do it in anticipation, we desire to present some considerations which induce us to believe it the duty of every good citizen, when that time comes, to be a party-man. Yes, in all its extent, a party-man.

Start not, my good friend, when I enjoin upon you the duty of mingling with your fellows in party caucus and party convention. It is prudery, not purity, to shrink from any obligation that God in *His* providence imposes. Do not tell me of the vulgarity, the profanity, the trickery, the corruption, and all that, of politics and politicians. If you would avoid these, betake you to a convent. The world is full of vice, and it is your province, in every act of life, to battle with the elements of evil. If politicians be so corrupt and corrupting, God has, nevertheless, committed to them the administration of government; and be it your endeavor, as it is your highest duty, to reform or supplant those who wield such mighty power. Tell us not that you can be a no-party man, lest, peradventure, you incur obligation to elevate immoral men. If withholding your

countenance from party would defeat their aspirations, you do well in standing aloof; but you had better incur and fulfil such obligation occasionally, than habitually to surrender to them and their sympathizers the absolute control of government.

We have been often reproached for sustaining men whose moral character was not irreproachable, and whose nomination for office we had deprecated for that very reason; and it has not unfrequently annoyed us that men of intelligence and character seemed to think us justly amenable to censure therefor. Perhaps we had said that we would never vote for the man whose election we were advocating. If so, it was a very foolish and a very hasty speech. Reader, never say you will not vote for any man. Say, if you please, you would never select him; but it may be your duty at some future day, under some circumstances, to elect him. God has not given you the gift of prescience, and you may very well concede that you can not foresee all the circumstances under which an obnoxious man may be a candidate for your suffrages, nor the competitors between whom and himself you must make an election. It is all very well to vaunt your republican privilege of voting for whom you please. So you may, and your boasted birthright may be expended at every election in the idle farce of complimenting some friend; but the newspapers will nickname him "scattering," and his own brother will read the record of the result in blissful ignorance of the high estimate in which he is held by at least one of his fellow-citizens.

You call yourself a "sovereign;" but that is a great mistake. A single soldier may as well call himself an army. The people, that is, a noun of multitude, are sovereign; but all the people are not sovereigns. Their sovereignty is a unit, and all together constitute that unit. What right have you to dictate to the many? and how may you, in the multitude of your peers, presume to expect conformity on their part to your will? The morning's paper contains an advertisement of a lottery with just about as many tickets as there are voters in your district. Will you invest your loose change in a chance and reckon upon drawing a prize? If so, you will only verify an old proverb: "A fool and his money are soon parted."

You may vote for whom you please—and thousands, in legal parlance, are eligible—but if you do not vote for Mr. Smith or Mr. Jones, you might just as well stay from the polls. In rare

cases the alternative of selection is enlarged to include Mr. Brown and Mr. John, one or the other, or it may be both. Neither of these four is your first choice. There are probably a dozen men in the district whom you prefer to either. In his party caucus Mr. Smith was opposed by Mr. Thompson, and you were a Smith man, not because he was your choice, but Thompson was not. There was an alternative there also. None of the prizes were yours, but you had some choice between the blanks. Now if you are a practical, sensible man, when the choice is restricted to Smith and Jones, the first of whom will represent your principles and the other will not, you must have a decided preference. You ought to have, and conscience, echoing the injunctions of God and man, commands you, as a good man and a good citizen, to express it at the polls. It matters not what you may have said of Mr. Smith. Let little minds taunt you with inconsistency. They may think consistency in wrong and folly better than avowal of past error and performance of present duty. The Spaniards have a proverb that "Wise men sometimes change their minds, fools never." Let them alone in their folly, but do your duty.

By all means, however, do not stand aloof upon the plea that you are a no-party man. It is bad enough not to be a party man, but it is something infinitely worse to be a no-party man. This interesting and valuable member of society is happily illustrated, in one of *Æsop's* fables, by the bat who hovered around during a battle between the beasts and the birds, prepared, according to the varying fortunes of the day, to claim fellowship in the hour of success with either party. Of birds the foulest, if it be one, and of beasts the meanest, if it dishonor that fraternity, it is an appropriate type of the man who abnegates his manhood and the citizen who repudiates his citizenship.

There is something especially contemptible in the affectation of no-partyism. "To identify one's own with the interest and honor of the community, and to love the country in which he was born, and under the protection of whose laws he lives, even to the extent of hazarding in its defence life and fortune, is a vulgar virtue, known to many of the notoriously vicious—vulgar only, however, because it is common—surviving even with most men the wreck of the fall. To affect singularity one must vaunt the corruption of a more than ordinary depravity. Ordinarily

men tutor themselves to assume the possession of virtues they do not possess; and the first lesson we learn is to distrust the professions of our fellows. But when virtue is in the ascendant, notoriety is more easily attained by the appearance of vice, and, with many minds, notoriety is equivalent to honest fame. Grave moralists, in learned ethical treatises, too often foster the delusion, by identifying the two in their homilies upon the sin and folly of ambition. Who has not seen depraved youths assume, in mixed society, the deportment of drunken men, and offend the moral sense of the company by shocking profanity just to attract attention and provoke the notice, though it be accompanied by the censure, of spectators? Eros-tratus, who linked his name with infamy by applying the torch of the incendiary to the Temple of Diana of Ephesus, has had, perhaps, more imitators than Aristides or Socrates.

It is no more safe always to confide in professions of no-partyism than in professions of infidelity. Indifference to the public weal is as much affected in the one as incredulity in the sublime mysteries of Revelation in the other. But these depths of depravity may be fathomed; and it is dangerous even seemingly to trifle upon the brink of moral degradation. The infidel may amuse himself in looking upon the divisions and controversies of sects and sectarians, and may congratulate himself that the pure atmosphere he breathes is untainted by the miasma of religious strife; but who can envy his merriment—his self-complacency, or his imagined security? So the no-party man, from his standpoint of neutrality, may gaze with profound indifference upon forensic contests and party struggles in which the fate of empires and the destiny of humanity is involved, thanking God that, be the result as it may, he is guiltless of responsibility; but who would not risk the hazard of defeat to participate in the glory of that triumph which, sooner or later, awaits every faithful champion of the Truth? Let the statesman and divine, who consecrate all the energies of head and heart to the faithful performance of duty, be objects of contempt and contumely to the infidels of church and state—but what matters it?

"The earth hath bubbles as the water hath,
And these are of them."

These people always remind me of the chimney-sweep, who, passing along the thoroughfares of London with an associate,

blackened like himself with the soot of some aristocratic chimney, and having his attention suddenly called by the remark of his companion, "Hello, Jim, there goes Mr. Garrick, the play-actor," replied with a ready rebuke: "Hush, child; you don't know yet what you're going to come to 'fore you die."

Parties will arise and will control the destiny of the Confederacy. Nor will they divide upon such immaterial questions. The prosperity and well-being of the community—the permanence of the government—and the security of individual rights will depend, to a greater or less extent, upon the success of the one or the other. Judge you deliberately and carefully between them, and identify yourself with that one which your reason and conscience approve. Every contest for office may not directly involve these vital interests; but for good or evil its result must be potential. Who has not heard predictions of an impending crisis, when uttered by the wise and seer-like statesmen of the South for the past twenty years, ridiculed and stigmatized as the croakings of politicians trifling with the best interests of the people? But the prediction has been verified; *the crisis has come.* The continent is even now rent and torn with the throes of revolution, and the earth trembles beneath the shock of armed hosts and the roar of loud artillery. Who now, in the light of recent events, will reproach those who anticipated these things with attributing an exaggerated consequence to the political contests of recent years? Amid the crumbling ruins of the American Union, beneath the shadow of frowning bastiles, guarding even the portals of our Chesapeake and the Mexican gulf, surrounded by the relics of broken covenants, and maintaining with your heart's blood, amid the rush of battle, the time-honored safeguards of individual liberty, and deafened almost with the not far off outcry of a frenzied populace, riveting upon themselves and their children, and seeking to rivet upon you and yours, the onerous yoke of irresponsible military despotism—you may well appreciate the wisdom of the warning you recklessly refused to heed.

It is related of the unfortunate Boabdil el Chico that, after the fall of his capital, in retiring with his saddened train he paused for a while to take one last, long, lingering gaze at the towers and minarets of Grenada and the frowning battlements of the Alhambra. What a world of thought rushed upon him! The spell of Moorish power was broken, and the triumphant

Ferdinand was revelling with his Castilian hosts upon the whilom theatre of Saracen magnificence. The unhappy monarch, overcome by the emotions which struggled within, sat him down and wept. The stern spirit of the Moslem mother rebelled, even in her adversity, against the seeming weakness, and in bitter, indignant eloquence she uttered the keen reproach: "You do well to weep like a woman for what you failed to defend like a man."

This is no hour for reproaches, and the wheel of revolution will not pause to afford an interval for indulgence in useless grief. You do not well, therefore, to weep—but remember that the sever of our first revolution had "no lamp by which his feet were guided but the lamp of experience;" and now, while that lamp is blazing your way before you, blind not your eyes to its glare. It will not do to reproach party-men with being tools of party. In one sense it is true. All the voters of a party are the tools with which its purposes are to be accomplished. But tools are valueless without the intelligence of man to wield them—and that intelligence is the combined contribution of thinking party-men. A party-man may be and ought to be a man in his party; and every earnest soul may exert a potential influence in its counsels. Upon the day of election he may be a tool, but need be only in the sense that the hand or the arm is a tool; for his own active brain may control and his own intelligent will may move him. But the no-party man, vote as he may, must be a tool in the hands of some man or men, in the furtherance of whose plans he is as unintelligent an agent as the axe in the hands of the woodman.

But it is frequently a serious difficulty with some good men how they may conscientiously vote with their party for the advancement of men of questionable moral character. There are those who declare that they never will vote for such, and reproach, with gross inconsistency, the moral portion of the community who do. Now if a man might always cast an effective vote for whom he pleased, we could not dispute the propriety of such a position; but as the range of selection is almost invariably narrowed down to two or three, we can not acquiesce in it without admitting that moral character is the only essential to personal fitness for office. We recognize no refined distinction between political and other social duties. In reference to them all, we acknowledge subordination to the same moral code; but,

if we understand it aright, that moral code enjoins very different action. In a world of sinners we can not always find saints to subserve every laudable purpose, and we must, as practical men, accommodate ourselves to the circumstances with which God, in His providence, has chosen to surround us. It is immaterial to you, though many of the men with whom you co-operate are actuated by the basest of purposes, if your conscience bear you witness that, in earnest sincerity, you have studied to learn and do your duty. He who maketh the wrath of man to praise Him not unfrequently commissions, as the propagandists of truth, men dark enough with crime. Inasmuch as the moral character is deficient, in so much, unquestionably, is the aspirant unfit for exalted position. But it can not be that even serious aberrations from the path of rectitude can as radically unfit a man of sound political principle and tenacious adherence to it to maintain and vitalize that principle, as the entire absence of reverence or affection for it. Will you station a man of moral character, but avowedly hostile feelings, as sentinel at the outposts of your camp, rather than a known and zealous friend, even if he be of loose morality?

The battles of the Reformation were not only fought and won by the spiritual weapons wielded so efficiently by Luther and Calvin, Melancthon, Knox, and Cranmer. The lust and caprice of Henry VIII, the intrigues of Murray, and the sword of the gallant but libidinous Henry of Navarre, were not inefficient agents in the accomplishment of the great result; and we never understood that the pious Reformers suffered qualms of conscience in accepting their proffered aid or contributing to the advancement of their ambitious aspirations. A soldier of the United States army, who was in the habit of indulging, when opportunity presented itself, in strong potations, was once severely rebuked by his officer for the vice. He was told that, in every other respect, he was a model for the service—attentive to every duty, obedient to every command, and faithful to every trust; but, in view of his repeated offences in this respect, threatened with the most condign punishment and degradation. "May it please your honor," said the poor fellow, "do you think the United States can hire all the cardinal virtues for eight dollars a month?"

We would not depreciate the value or importance of high moral worth in public places. Nor are we insensible to the

reproach justly chargeable upon the people who tolerate its absence. But as to this we plead less of responsibility than those who make the complaint. If the conscientious and enlightened portion of the community would esteem it incumbent upon them to be party-men, and attend with regularity party meetings and party conventions, actively and earnestly dedicating their time and their influence to the public service in these assemblages where they can be efficiently exerted, they could not fail to command that influence and wield that power which is justly incident to character and intelligence. We would then more rarely be restricted at the polls to the alternative of selection among bad men, or election between a bad man but good politician, and a good man but bad politician. Men who would adorn official position would then become the objects around whom the public sympathies would gather; in whom parties would delight to repose confidence, and upon whom bestow the honors of public service. The offices of the country which they decline to seek now would seek them, and a higher standard of public morals might be speedily and securely attained. But the political millennium, be assured, will never be hastened by the voluntary abdication, on the part of the better portion of the community, of their appropriate influence in the selection of public officers, nor by any homilies on the decay of public morals and the shortcomings of public men. The music of Nero amid the conflagration of Rome was quite as potential in exorcising the spirit of the angry element; and though the mountebank emperor was more wilful and more frivolous in his folly, there are grave divines and rigid moralists in our day who, amid emergencies of practically no less magnitude, waste as precious time in far less fruitful strains.

ART. VII.—EASTERN SHORE OF VIRGINIA.

"For earth-surrounding sea our flight awaits,
Offering its blissful isles and happy seats,
Where annual Ceres crowns the uncultured field,
And vines unpruned their blushing clusters yield;
Where olives, faithful to their seasons, grow,
And figs with nature's deepest purple glow;

From hollow oaks, where honeyed streams distil,
 And bounds, with noisy feet, the pebbled rill;
 Where goats untaught, forsake the flowery vale,
 And bring their swelling udders to the pail;
 Nor envying bears the sheepfold growl around,
 Nor mining vipers heave the tainted ground;
 Nor watery Eurus deluges the plain,
 Nor heat excessive burns the springing grain;
 Not Argos thither turned her armed head;
 Medea, there, no magic poison spread;
 No merchants thither plow the pathless main,
 For guilty commerce and a thirst of gain;
 Nor wise Ulysses and his wandering bands,
 Vicious, though brave, e'er knew these happy lands."

[*Horace, Ode xxi—Translation by Francis.*]

In reading the history and studying the geography and various natural wealth, products, and advantages of that hitherto peaceful, quiet, and happy region, the Eastern shore of Virginia, the passage which we cite above from Horace was brought vividly to our recollection. Though we violate established usage by introducing so long a quotation as the caption of our essay, yet its beauty and appropriateness will, we are sure, with tasteful and appreciative readers, excuse and justify our departure from the mere caprice and fashion of literary precedent.

The Eastern shore of Virginia, consisting of the counties of Accomac (called by the Indians Accawmacke) and Northampton, is a peninsula lying between the Chesapeake bay and the Atlantic ocean, about ninety miles in length, as computed by the roads that penetrate it, and varying in breadth from three to ten miles. It is situated between latitude 37 and 38 degrees north. Its climate is milder and more equable than that of the counties in Virginia on the opposite side of the bay in the same latitude. Captain Smith, who first discovered and explored it, says that its soil is clayey. It contains a larger admixture of clay than the soil of the counties on the western side the bay, but sand predominates; and that fact, combined with its evenness of surface, renders the roads admirable, and makes travelling in wheeled carriages of various kinds more common and more agreeable than riding on horseback. On the Atlantic side the whole coast is protected by a series of islands, situated about eight miles from the mainland, with what is called the Broad Water intervening. This Broad Water is far less tempestuous than the ocean, and thus the mainland is shielded from its inroads.

Great numbers and great varieties of fish and wild fowl frequent this stream, and its bottom is stored with inexhaustible quantities of small oysters, which soon become large and fat when transplanted to the creeks and inlets of the peninsula. In this Broad Water there is a storehouse of human food and of wealth that, when population becomes dense in the South, will furnish food and employment to hundreds of thousands of people, and furnish it so long as the ocean lasts. The Chesapeake side of the peninsula is equally rich in fish, oysters, wild fowl, and other marine wealth. It is somewhat remarkable, and much to the credit of the people of this section, that they are not generally tempted to quit farming and betake themselves to the more fascinating and less laborious pursuits of fishing, oystering, and ducking. They are generally admirable farmers, and keep up with all modern improvements in agriculture, practical and scientific. It is far more remarkable that the savages who preceded them were the most agricultural and provident of all the Virginia Indians. We quote from Smith's History of Virginia:

"These are the best husbands (husbandmen) of any savages we know; for they provide corn to serve them all the year, and to spare, and the others for not half the year, yet want. They are the most civil and tractable people we have met with; and, by little sticks, will keep as just an account of their promises as by a tally. In their marriages they observe a large distance as well in affinity as consanguinity. There may be on this shore about two thousand people. They on the west would invade them, but that they want boats to cross the bay; and so would divers other nations were they not protected by us. A few of the westerly renegadoes had conspired against the Laughing King, but fearing their treason was discovered fled to Smith's isles, where they made a massacre of deer and hogs."

This was written about the year 1622 by John Torey, Secretary of Virginia. It seems that whites had settled in the peninsula some years before, chiefly for the purpose of making salt. The writer says he, with ten men, was sent by Sir George Yeardley to Smith's isles to find a convenient place to make salt. But there must already have been a settlement on the mainland, for he adds:

"Having taken a muster of the company's tenants, I went to Smith's isles, where was our salt-house; not far off we found a more convenient place, and so returned to Jamestown."

Two centuries and a half have elapsed, and this salt-making project has never yet been carried into effect. It is high time it should be.

Hogs ran wild in great numbers in the woods, not only on

Smith's island, but throughout the colony, affording, together with fruits, wild game, fish, and oysters, abundance of luxuries and delicacies for the table, and most of the food required for comfortable living. Wild cattle and wild horses still run at large on some of the islands on the coast of this peninsula, and it is a favorite amusement to make up parties to go and catch them. The climate is so mild that they readily support themselves through winter. The horses are of a peculiar breed—small, but active, hardy, and enduring. Many of the islands are uninhabited; some settled by a few fishermen; a few well settled and cultivated, and containing election precincts. The chief islands on the Atlantic coast are Smith's, Mockon, Cobb's, Hog island, Matompkin, and Chingoteague. This last island has an election precinct on it. There are no islands in the Chesapeake on the lower coast of the peninsula. Those above are called Tangier islands. There is an election precinct on these islands. The British fleet, we remember, remained some time after the conclusion of the last war with England at these islands, and invited those who had lost negroes to come and identify and reclaim them. Few, however, were thus recovered; but England eventually paid a fair price for all that she had taken off. Shall not the North do the same?

The southern extremity of the peninsula is called Cape Charles, and is opposite Cape Henry, on the western shore. The distance between the capes (the breadth of the bay at its mouth) is about fifteen miles; it widens somewhat above. The usual course of the bay is from north to south; but just at its mouth it turns at right angles and enters the ocean in an easterly direction. The southern extremity of the peninsula is occupied by the farms of Edward C. Fitchett and J. D. Hallett. These gentlemen both belong to old families which have resided on the Eastern shore for many generations. Mr. William T. Fitchett, a brother of the above-named gentleman, Commonwealth Attorney for the County of Northampton, is a refugee, and now holds office in Richmond.

This is the first taste of serious hostilities that has ever been visited on this happy section, so far as history or tradition inform us. The Indians found there were peaceful tribes, and always lived on good terms with the whites. They were not exterminated by violence, but slowly and gradually died out by being brought in contact and competition with a superior race.

A very few individuals having a small admixture of Indian blood are still to be found on this peninsula. After the great Indian massacre of the whites on the Western shore in 1622, it was for some time in serious contemplation to remove the whole colony to this peninsula.* No English settlement in America, not even Pennsylvania, has lived so peaceably with, and so undisturbed by, the Indians as this.

In the ocean, alongside Cape Charles, lies Smith's island. It is about fourteen miles long by half a mile wide. It belongs to General Robert E. Lee, in right of his wife, who was a Miss Custis, daughter of the late George Washington Custis, of Arlington Heights, near Washington. The old original seat of the Custis family on the peninsula was also named Arlington. The family burying-ground and old family tombstones are still to be found there. The Custis name is one of the oldest, wealthiest, and most influential on the Eastern shore. Smith's island contains seven or eight thousand acres, and might be rendered very valuable by an owner who could confine his exclusive attention to its management. We presume it brings in little revenue to General Lee, although he has stocks of cattle and sheep and a tenantry on it. Most of the land is covered with a growth of heart-pine. Even in the woods, good grazing is found at all seasons of the year.

In 1706 Beverly, the historian of Virginia, thus writes about the Indians of that state:

"The Indians of Virginia are almost wasted, but such towns or people as retain their names, and live in bodies, are hereinunder set down, all of which together can't raise five hundred fighting men. They live poorly, and much in fear of the neighboring Indians. [He means by neighboring Indians, the Six Nations on the lakes in New York—rather distant, but very troublesome neighbors, who sometimes extended their raids even into South Carolina.] Each town, by the articles of peace in 1667, pays three Indian arrows for their lands, and twenty beaver skins for protection, every year.

"In Accomac are eight towns, to wit: Metompkin is much decreased of late by the small-pox, that was carried thither. Gingoteague—the few remains of this town are joined with a nation of Maryland Indians. Kioquotank is reduced to very few men. Machapungo has a small number yet living. Ocohanock has a small number yet living. Pungoteague, governed by a queen, but a small nation. Onancock has but four or five families. Chiconessix has very few, who just keep the name. Nanduze—not above twenty families, but the seat of an empress, who has all the nations of this shore under tribute. In Northampton, Ganguscoe, which is almost as numerous as all the foregoing nations put together."

* Sir William Berkeley twice found refuge in this truly loyal section during Bacon's rebellion.

We omit the names of the tribes or nations in the rest of the colony. It would seem that at least one-fourth of all the Virginia Indians at this time were to be found on the Eastern shore, attracted there, no doubt, by the great facility of living afforded by its advantages of climate, soil, and marine products.

Most of the Indian names of above-named nations are still retained in the peninsula, distinguishing certain localities, creeks, or inlets. No people in America are of such unmixed English blood, and so conservative in their feelings, customs, and habits, as those of the Eastern shore. During colonial times they were always loyal to the Crown of England, for they were all Cavaliers, and detested, contemned, and despised the cheating, hypocritical Puritan. Almost exclusively a farming community, they never learned to practice the tricks of trade, and abhorred them when practised by others. No people have lived more abundantly, and few have lived so much within themselves. Not only is greater permanence found in the habits and customs of the people there than elsewhere, but the same families are generally found there now that lived there two hundred years ago, and found occupying the same social positions with that of their remote ancestry. The ups and downs of life are not so rapid as in trading communities, and men learn to respect what is old rather than what is new. This is as it should be; and we hope, when we are fairly parted from the trading, speculating, cheating North, that our society will nowhere present the disgusting but too common spectacle of one set of men acquiring wealth by pulling down a set much better and more respectable than themselves into the gulf of poverty.

The manners of the gentlemen of this section are somewhat provincial—direct, frank, open, manly, resembling those of the English country gentlemen of a century ago, and strongly contrasting with the artificial, arrogant, hypocritical, *petit-maiterism* of a Chesterfield, a Brummel, or a George IV. Governor Wise is a representative man, and is a fine specimen of the sort of gentlemen we would describe. Many old English words, out of use in other sections, are still in common use here. Ox-carts are always called "wains," and farm-yards and stables called "pounds." The double negative is often heard from the lips of educated and refined men. This we are sure is natural and right, not only because it is found in two of the most perfect

and polished languages, the Greek and French, but because all children use it. It is certainly natural, and grammar should be deduced from nature, not attempt to change it. The double negative intensifies the negation, and gives force to expression. Almost all persons of little education, however respectable in their characters and associations, stick to the old English "ye" in preference to the modern "you."* As every one readily makes a living, the feeling of independence among the citizens is universal. All are aristocrats, in the Yankee sense of the term. This is just the standard of feeling, manner, and bearing which should distinguish all Southrons, and does distinguish nine-tenths of them. There are no ravenous beasts in this section, and few of those contemptible bipeds, the fashion-following parvenues. The people have too much respect for themselves and their ancestry readily to adopt the modes, manners, and customs of outsiders. The parvenu clutches at change of fashion with avidity, in order to conceal his recent obscurity by his new plumage.

In colonial times the Eastern shore furnished its full quota of useful and distinguished men, and of late more than its quota. All are familiar with the names of Abel P. Upshur, Severn E. Parker, the Wises, Bayleys, Scarboroughs, Joynes, Fisher, etc.

The Eastern shore of Virginia seems to have been treated as a distinct colony by the Commissioners of the Parliament of England after the dethronement and death of Charles I. We presume this was done because they were more loyal to the Crown even than the people of the Western shore. The agreement between those Commissioners and the Governor, Council, and Burgesses of Virginia recites, among other things, "that the former government by the commissioners and instructions was null and void." This is dated March 12, 1651. Whether it was ever executed by the governor, council, and burgesses does not appear. Cromwell was declared Protector on January 9, 1654, and we find no recognition of his authority either by the state at large, or by the people of the Eastern shore. On the contrary, Virginia was wholly self-governed during his Protectorate, and the House of Burgesses, on April 1, 1658, resolved and declared "that they had in themselves the full power of the election and appointment of all the officers in this

* We might mention many other old English words and usages obsolete elsewhere, but still retained here.

country." And again, on March 1, 1659, they declare that "The supreme power of the government of this country shall be resident in the assembly." Besides, Cromwell admits, in a letter written just before his death, that he had not interfered in Virginia affairs, but would do so hereafter. In truth, the Protector, of whom Carlyle and Macaulay would make a saint and a hero, knew little of geography, nothing of the value of foreign colonies, and hardly knew there was such a place as Virginia. Hence his neglect to look after her affairs.

We find, in the Virginia Historical Register, the following paper, with about two hundred signatures appended to it. We give the names of some of the signers.

"The Engagement tendered to the inhabitants of Northampton county, March 11, 1651.

"We, whose names are subscribed, do hereby engage and promise to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it is now established, without King or House of Lords.

"March 25."

We annex surnames of some of the two hundred subscribers, to wit: Littleton, Robins, Scarbrough, Douglass, Addison, Yardly, Sprigge, Stringer, Parker, Cooke, Mathews, Ayres (now spelled Eyres), Dixon, Custis, Lee, Calvert, Nottingham, Baily, Wise, Coulson, Revell, Browne, etc., etc. These, and most of the other names of the signers, are still found on the peninsula. In looking over old papers on the Atlantic counties of the Western shore, we always find that three-fourths of the family names are extinct in the counties where they once resided. The difference between the two shores in this respect goes far to prove that the people of the peninsula have ever been a happy, prosperous, and contented community.

In viewing the maps of Virginia and Maryland, the counties of Accomac and Northampton look as if they had strayed off from the former state and gotten into the latter. But the division would seem to be natural, for Captain Smith found the Indians of those counties speaking the language of Powhatan (that is, of the Western shore), and wholly ignorant of that of the Maryland Indians living above and adjoining to them.

The records of the courts of the Eastern shore extend further back than those of any other counties in Virginia. Professor L. S. Joynes has politely furnished me with some curious extracts from those records. The striking peculiarity which they present is the rigid, meddlesome, and sumptuary character of

the laws and legal proceedings of early colonial days. The present condition of the South, environed with danger, renders martial law necessary, and makes it incumbent to treat as crimes or misdemeanors actions which, in time of peace, are considered and treated as indifferent. All new colonies are environed with danger, and need to be governed by something approaching to martial law. Men must be closely associated together, submit to constant discipline, and lead a sort of watchful camp life. Differences of opinion, especially about religion, can not be tolerated, because such differences of opinion dissociate men and jeopard the safety of the whole community. What now seems to be persecution was practised alike in Virginia and in New England. But it was not persecution—only salutary caution. If we knew all the circumstances attending the condition of any people, we would generally find that their laws and institutions were the best that could be devised for that condition.

Bishop Meade, writing about the early records of Northampton, says:

“Those who examine those works are struck with nothing so much as the penitentiary system which they exhibit, more like that of the early ages than is to be found in Protestant times and countries. As we have, in connection with certain parishes, taken up some special topic for consideration, as those of induction of ministers and the option or two-penny act, we will, before entering on the statistics of this parish, very briefly consider the subject of discipline, as exhibited in the early history of the Church and State of Virginia. We have already alluded, more than once, to the ‘laws moral, martial, and divine,’ which were introduced under Governors De La War, Dale, and others, from the Low Countries of Europe, where they were in and among the armies of that time, and which were better suited to a rude soldiery, in a barbarous age, than for the Christian Church in any age. We have said that the most severe of those enacted against heresy, and blasphemy, and non-attendance at church, were never executed. Mr. Burke, whose sceptical principles and ill opinion of Christians can not be concealed, is forced to acknowledge this.

“I have met with but one instance of the infliction of that most painful punishment, ‘the running of an awl or bodkin through the tongue,’ and that was not for any violation of the laws concerning religion, but for the sin of the tongue in uttering a base and detracting speech against Mr. Hamar, a worthy gentleman of the council, at an early period of the colony. The guilty person was a Mr. Barnes, of Bermuda Hundred, who was sent to Jamestown for trial, and condemned ‘to have his tongue run through with an awl, to pass through a guard of forty men, and to be butted by every one of them, and at the head of the troop knocked down and footed out of the fort.’ I find that for the violation of the seventh and ninth commandments, which God himself delivered amidst thunders and lightnings from Mount Sinai, the most frequent and disgraceful punishments were inflicted. As to slander, the bearing false witness against fellow-beings at the early period of the colony, if a woman was convicted of it, her husband was

made to pay five hundred weight of tobacco; but this law proving insufficient, the penalty was changed into ducking, and inflicted on the woman herself. Places for ducking were prepared at the doors of the court-houses. An instance is mentioned of a woman who was ordered to be ducked three times, from a vessel lying in James river, near Bermuda Hundred, for scolding. No doubt she was notorious for it. If a man was guilty of slandering a minister, he was required to pay a fine of five hundred pounds of tobacco, and ask the pardon of the minister before the congregation. Now, however we may lament and condemn the modes that were adopted by our ancestors for declaring their abhorrence of these crimes and seeking to banish them from society, we must do them the justice to acknowledge that it was evidence in them of a hatred of sin and irreligion, and of a desire and determination to punish what was offensive to God. We must, also, always make due allowance for the circumstances of the times in which laws are made and enforced. In examining the early history of Hungary parish we find that, in the year 1663, the offence of slandering the first minister, the Rev. Mr. Cotton, was punished in the following manner: 'Ordered by the court, that Mr. Henry Charlton make a pair of stocks and sit in them several Sabbath days during divine service, and then ask Mr. Cotton's forgiveness for using offensive and slanderous words concerning him.' In the year 1643 the court inflicted punishment on one Richard Buckland for writing a slanderous song on one Ann Smith, ordering 'that at the next sermon preached at Nassawattocks he shall stand during the lessons, at the church-door, with a paper on his hat, on which shall be written *inimicus libellus*, and that he shall ask forgiveness of God, and also, in particular, of the said defamed Ann Smith.' In the year 1647, Mr. Palmer being minister at Nassawattocks, the church-wardens presented two persons to the court, which ordered them to stand in the church during service with white shirts over their shoulders and white wands in their hands. In the year 1652 the Rev. Mr. Higby is brought before the court for scandalous speeches against Major Robins, the issue of it not being mentioned. In the year 1664 Major Robins brought suit against Mary Powell for scandalous speeches against the Rev. Mr. Teakle, and she was ordered to receive twenty lashes on her bare shoulders, and to be banished the county. In the year 1664, Captain Jno. Custis being high-sheriff, there were eight presentments for violating the seventh commandment, one for swearing, one for not attending church, and one for card-playing on the Sabbath. We have already mentioned that a few Quakers had, before this time, been brought before the court and ordered out of the county for blasphemy. It is due to the people of the county to say that they did tolerate respectable persons of that sect at a later period."

We find, from the notes given us by Professor Joynes, that in Accomac, in early times, those who violated the seventh commandment were sentenced to be whipped by a woman, who had herself violated it. In 1678 the court of Accomac ordered John Thomas to be sold as a servant, for bearing arms under the standard of the rebel Bacon, as appears by the certificate of Sir William Berkeley, late governor, deceased. No doubt he was a low fellow, for Sir William hung the gentlemen engaged in that rebellion.

We find also, in the papers lent to us by Dr. Joynes, some curious instances of superstition lingering, at rather at a late

day, among the judicial proceedings of Accomac. It was an old belief among the vulgar in England that if the murderer touched the wounds of the murdered person they would bleed afresh. As late as 1680 the court of Accomac acts under this belief in a case of alleged infanticide, and orders a coroner's inquest of women to view the dead body of an infant; and in another case empanels a jury of women to try the mother charged with infanticide. We will give the verdict of the jury of inquest, and some other of the proceedings:

"We, the subscribers, being sworn to view the body of a dead child, confessed by Mary, the daughter of Sarah Carter, to be borne of her body, which said child was caused to be taken out of the ground, where it was very shallow put in. Then we caused Sarah, the wife of Paul Carter, and mother of the said Mary, to touch, handle, and stroke the child; in which time we saw no alteration in the body of the child. Afterwards we called for Paul Carter to touch the said child, and immediately whilst he was stroking the child the black and settled places about the body of the child grew fresh and red, so that blood was ready to come through the skin of the child. We also observed the countenance of the said Paul Carter to alter into very much paleness—the child also appearing to us to be very much neglected in several respects as to the preservation of such an infant. And we do conclude that if the said child had violence, it was by the throat, which was very black and continued so, altho' other places that were black altered to red and flesh color. To which was subscribed our hands the 1st day of May, 1860.

"Mary Hill, Margaret Jenkins, Matilda West, Mary Mikell, Mary Anderson, Amey Parker, Mary Siffle, Ellen Calvert, Ann Hume, Mary Watts, Elizabeth Cutler, Jane Taylor.

"WM. CUSTIS, Coroner."

Paul Carter was presented by the grand jury; what became of the case afterwards we are not informed. Elizabeth Carter's case or cases occurred in 1667. We cite from the minute-book: "Elizabeth Carter, accused of taking physic, bruising her body, etc. A jury of the most *grave, creditable, and judicious* women ordered. Verdict of jury of women: that 'Elizabeth Carter was clear of murther, but took physic.' Sentenced to receive thirty lashes."

We are a little puzzled by the verdict about same Elizabeth, which we find on the minutes of a subsequent court, to wit: "Verdict of jury of women: that Elizabeth Carter's miscarriage, or the death of her child, was due to a fall that she got." Mrs. Custis, Mrs. Wise, Mrs. Bowman, etc., the *elite* of the land, were members of the jury. We like these old superstitions, because, like Mr. Hardcastle, we like everything old; and further, because they proceed from heartfelt religious faith.

How much more respectable than the "table-rappings" and "*clairvoyance*" of enlightened and infidel Boston! Dr. Johnson believed in ghosts, and Sir Mathew Hale in witches. We like them the better for it. It shows they were not materialists and infidels.

The productions of the soil of the Eastern shore in fruits, grain, and vegetables are as rich and various as those of any country whatever. They are the same as those on the Western shore, in rather a more southern latitude. Figs mature finely, and never fail to produce great crops. They grow wild in great quantities on many of the small islands. Pomegranates flourish, bloom, and bear fruit, unprotected, in the gardens.

The soil of the peninsula is dry and porous, and may be ploughed soon after rains without detriment. It is light, and is cultivated with much less labor than the lands of the valley, or of the Piedmont region, this side the valley. Corn is cultivated by the best farmers without hoe work, except in planting and replanting—the plough and harrow being used exclusively, which lessens the labor by half. From the Broad Water oysters are bought for two cents and a half a bushel, and burnt into lime by the farmers to be used as manure. The sea-weed cast on the shores by the tides is also a valuable manure. The Maggoty Bay bean, indigenous to the soil, is a great fertilizer, when turned in like clover, and is much used for that purpose. Freights are almost nominal to Baltimore, Norfolk, and the Northern cities. Thus the people have markets at their doors for all their products. The soil, cultivated for more than two centuries, is now more productive than when first settled. Taking all these advantages into consideration, and adding thereto the immense marine wealth with which it is surrounded, and we may safely pronounce it, at least in potentiality, the most blessed, if not the richest, spot on earth.

We annex a part of a communication to the Southern Planter from the pen of Thomas R. Joynes, deceased, late a distinguished citizen of Accomac, father of Professor Joynes. We regret we have lost part of the letter.

"ACCOMAC, June 26, 1855.

"To the Editor of the Southern Planter:

"I believe the opinion prevails very generally with people unacquainted with the Eastern shore, that the people of Accomac and Northampton are very poor and the land unproductive, and that many of the inhabitants (as once said by Patrick Henry in relation to the people of the tide-water

region) are compelled 'to rake their daily bread from the oyster-banks.' A slight examination of the 'County Statistics,' published in the 'Compendium of the Census of 1850,' will clearly show that this opinion is entirely erroneous, and that instead of being poor, the counties of Accomac and Northampton, in proportion to population and extent of territory, are amongst the most wealthy in the state. In many of the counties of Virginia on the banks of the river, and in small valleys amongst the mountains, there are lands more productive; but taking the whole number of acres of 'improved land,' it will be found that very few, if any, counties in the state are as productive as Accomac and Northampton. I have lately made a comparison of the productions of Accomac in the articles of corn, wheat, rye, oats, and potatoes, with the production of the same articles in the large and wealthy counties of Albemarle, Augusta, Bedford, Frederick, Halifax, Jefferson, Rockingham, Loudoun, and Shenandoah, in proportion to population and acres of improved land; and I confess that the result surprised me, although I was previously aware that Accomac deserved to stand high on the list of productive and wealthy counties. Accomac produces more corn than any county in the state except Albemarle; and of the articles of produce above enumerated, taken together, Accomac produces, in bushels, in proportion to population, 18 per cent. more than Loudoun, and 30 per cent. more than Rockingham, 50 per cent. more than Jefferson, and more than 50 per cent. more than any other of the counties. In proportion to the whole number of acres of improved land, Accomac produces in bushels of the enumerated articles 20 per cent. more than Jefferson, 70 per cent. more than Loudoun and Augusta, and more than 100 per cent. more than any other of those counties. I have not included 'tobacco' and 'live stock driven to market' in the estimate, because these articles are not produced in all of the above-named counties; and, moreover, the county statistics do not furnish any data from which to ascertain the quantity or value of 'the live stock driven to market.' In the 'value of animals slaughtered,' Accomac exceeds every one of those counties in proportion to her population, and she nearly doubles some of them. In the number of neat cattle owned in the several counties named, Accomac, in proportion to her population, exceeds the whole of them except Loudoun and Rockingham, and in swine she exceeds the whole of them in proportion to population, except Halifax and Rockingham. If 'tobacco' and 'cattle driven to market' be added to the estimate, I think it will be nevertheless found that very few counties in the state are equal to Accomac in the—" [Balance of the letter lost.]

Our admiration of the conduct of the people of the Eastern shore, as well in the proceedings which led to secession as in the war that has succeeded, induced us to attempt this essay. We never were in that section, and have had to rely on what we could glean from books, and what we could gather from conversation with refugees, for this faint and faulty description of the country. No people were so helplessly and hopelessly exposed in the event of secession as they; yet their pure, unmixed Cavalier blood, their Southern feelings, their chivalric character, their time-honored conservatism, and their detestation of the motley hordes of the North, whether Yankees, Jews, or Germans, impelled them to vote almost with unanimity for

secession, reckless of the danger and the self-sacrifice that they were incurring. Their country has been long occupied by invading Yankees and foreigners. Thousands of them have fled their homes and joined the Confederate army. All are cheerful, all buoyant with hope that the day is not distant when the invader will be expelled, and they may return again to happy, peaceful, and plentiful homes.

• Maryland and this peninsula must go with the South, must be part of the Confederacy, else the North will command the Chesapeake and its tributaries, and be virtual master of Virginia from the ocean to the Alleghanies. In that event, Western Virginia would become a province of the North, and the whole state be eventually abolitionized. The South must never sheath the sword until every inch of Maryland and Virginia are secured to the Confederacy.

ART. VIII.—STATE RIGHTS AMONG THE YANKEES—POLITICAL ANATOMY.

The North is interposing, through her governors, just as Virginia and Kentucky did in 1798-99, to restrict and control the action of the Federal government. They have not as yet, like those two states, studiously elaborated a string of "arborescently absurd and exuberantly fallacious" reasons for their conduct. They have acted naturally and sensibly, and, like all individuals and communities who so act, are wholly unconscious of the motives which impel them. The governors are the representatives, the impersonated sovereignties, of distinct and perfect nationalities. Each state is a perfect nation, because it has within itself all the parts or institutions that constitute distinct and full political sovereignty. Political sovereignty, separate nationality, or state sovereignty, is a physical anatomical fact, not a metaphysical deduction; a thing not reserved by compact, but inherent and natural; a thing which all the compacts, constitutions, and written parchments in the world can neither give or take away. A state is as purely a physical fact or being as a horse, and a much more complex one. It would be quite as easy to make a horse by ingenious wording on paper as to make a state. Ohio is a perfect nation, a nation at all points,

just as Rozinante was a perfect horse; and when provoked to it, she will act as a nation, because it is part of her nature, and she can't help it. Let's anatomize her: She has a large and fertile territory, a people numbering millions, a distinct and peculiar common law and statute law, a judiciary of her own, a militia or army, a legislature, and a sovereign ruler—called Governor, *Gubernator*, or Helmsman—a much more comprehensive and significant term than King, Czar, or Emperor.

Virginia and Kentucky, in 1798 and '99, broke their halters, and neighed and kicked up their heels in a most defiant and sovereign way. Nothing wiser or more natural than the action of those states; nothing more absurd than the reasons assigned for it. We repeat: "Our ancestors never did a weak thing, and never said a wise one."

In 1856 Gov. Wise had called on the other Southern executives, and was prepared, in event of Fremont's election, to assert and maintain, in the most practical manner imaginable, the inherent, natural, physical sovereignty of Virginia. The governor was probably the first to discover that States-Right is a physical fact, not a metaphysical abstraction. He never did belong to the metaphysical States-Rights school—that of Madison, Jefferson, and Calhoun—but, in 1856, and again after the John Brown raid, led the physical school in an astonishingly earnest fashion. We ought to have in all our colleges and universities a Professor of Political Anatomy. Such a chair, well filled, would prevent the repetition of such abstrudities as the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Virginia Bill of Rights, and the Resolutions of '98-'99.

It would teach that legislators and statesmen must take states, nations, and institutions as God and Nature had formed them, as they had grown up, and not attempt to create them. Dose, and tinker, and mend, and revise their institutions as Moses and Confucius, Lycurgus and English Alfred did; but not profanely attempt, like Locke and Jefferson, and Abbé Sieyès, to make them out and out.

States-Rights are never in danger so long as state political organization remains with adequate military strength to defend and maintain that organization. Institutions—natural, prescriptive institutions—are the only checks and balances of power, the guarantees of right, and the defences of liberty. There can be no such thing as consolidation; no great or dangerous Fed-

eral or Confederate government, until the present separate political organization of the states is destroyed, and they become fused into one homogeneous whole.

We have often attempted to show, in the pages of this Review, that States-Rights is a physical fact and necessity, resulting from the political anatomy of each state; and we embrace the occasion of the uprising of the Northern governors to exemplify, illustrate, and establish our theory. Had Lincoln learned political anatomy he would have understood the great difference between counties and states. Like the comparative anatomist or naturalist, he would have seen at a glance that a county or a city corporation was but a part, limb, or member of a sovereign political being; and that it was, like the arms and legs of man, dependent and subservient, and not sovereign.

Had the old Federalists or modern National Republicans understood political anatomy, they never would have mistaken the United States for a people or nation; for the Federal government had neither a people nor a territory, the most essential elements or constituents of nationality.

Had the Southern States-Rights school understood it, they would have relied on the structure, institutions, and anatomy of the states to prove that they were sovereign political beings, and on the structure and anatomy of the Federal government to show that it was a mere league, and that no form of words whatever could divest the states of their sovereignty, so long as their institutions or political organization remained intact; and no form of words could make the Union a nation, because a nation is a physical social being, having and requiring physical limbs and members, just as animals have and must have limbs and members.

To organize a nation, one must first have a people and a territory. The most cunning and ingenious writings, charters, and paper constitutions, can not conjure a nation into existence. A confederacy is all that can be made out of sovereign states, word your constitution, league, or agreement as you will.

England, by abolishing the parliaments of Ireland and Scotland, destroyed the last vestige of nationality in those two countries. With such parliaments it would have been difficult to rule them; for, although their sovereignty would have been imperfect, yet, as the man who has lost a leg or other limb still indifferently enacts the role of manhood, so would they have

been continually trying to play the part of separate independent nations.

England, by permitting her colonies to govern themselves, in most matters, from the start, let them grow up into sovereign nations; and they, after the age of pupilage was passed, very naturally asserted and maintained the right to independent nationality and sovereignty. Having become adults, they felt and acted as adults, and indignantly rejected the guidance and control of the parent state. Calves and other animals do the same thing. The time had come for the thirteen colonies to be weaned, and they should have simply said so, instead of sending forth to the world that bombastic, false and mischievous Declaration of Independence.

England has but half discovered what the Greeks thoroughly understood: that colonies must be entrusted with self-government; and when they acquire national numbers, strength, and dimensions, naturally and properly assert and maintain their separate and independent nationality. The Greeks sent out their colonies prepared to act as independent nations from the beginning. This course saved them a world of trouble, dissension, and war, and yet secured to them the friendship and trade of the colonies, which are the only things valuable to be derived from them.

ART. IX.—"GLORIOUS OLD CHARLESTON."

These are the terms now in which people everywhere accustom themselves to speak of this cradle of the revolution, this hoary-headed sinner in the eyes of the vile Yankee despots, against which their vain decrees had gone forth—*Carthago delenda est*. There she sits, proudly and defiantly, by the mingling of the waters of the classic Ashley and Cooper, guarded everywhere by frowning battlements, unawed by the roar of a thousand guns, and the constant bursting in her midst of the instruments of death. Even her fair and delicate women find grander melody in the orchestra of the guns than in that of lute and harp. Their cheeks blanch not, but their hearts beat high and proud. Let the Vandal and the Goth continue their work. The bells of old St. Michael shall ring out yet merry peals for independence, and the stately mansions of those who claim the blood of the Rutledges, the Middletons, and Pinckneys, shall hang out blazing lights from base to attic in honor of the great event.

From a recent visit to this classic soil of our nativity we can verify the

accuracy of what is said in the following, which is taken from the "Mercury." Nearly twelve months of siege have been wasted.

CHARLESTON.

The Yankee viper continues gnawing at the file. It is covered with blood and slaver, but these are from his own jaws. There he sits, squat on Morris island, and from a distance spits his own venom at the prey which he dare not approach. Every shell which he hurls against the city costs him one hundred dollars, irrespective of his armament, the *personnel* he has to feed, the material he has to supply, the watch he has to keep, the sick he has to cure, the dead he has to bury. But he indulges his spite and venom, though at his own cost. He inflicts but little injury upon the city.

We have heard that a master-mechanic has said that he will undertake the repair of all the houses damaged by his shells at an average cost of two hundred dollars. Most of the houses that we have examined, which have been injured, can easily be put in repair at that price. His Greek Fire has failed him. He bores a hole in a roof or wall, and in a few instances, where the shell has burst in the dwelling, it has been more seriously damaged. But the real hurt has been in the annoyance. Families have been driven from their homes, and made to take refuge in the suburbs or the interior. He has inconvenienced many; but his venom is more conspicuous than his fangs. He pays far more to harm than we shall need for repair. Without a chance of success, he still gnaws his file. He batters Sumter into solidity and strength. He shells a city, the people of which have cheerfully consecrated it as a sacrifice for freedom. He confirms them in their faith. He renders them doubly devoted to the cause—inflexible as the grave; and all for the poor satisfaction of showing how spiteful he can be, and how lavish of food and treasure to gratify his malignity. His increased fury of late only proves that he is conscious of increasing exhaustion. His resources are failing. His numbers are diminished, and his recent activity is meant to conceal the deficiency of his resources. But for his iron-clads and navy, he could be driven from all the islands of South Carolina, in the possession of which he is only secure under the cover of his fleet. Let him gnaw his file at his pleasure, "our withers are unwrung."

EDITORIAL.

In the fall of 1845, two years after graduating at the Charleston College (the interval having been spent in editing the *Southern Quarterly Review*), the prospectus of this Review was issued from Charleston, S. C. Soon after the editor removed to New Orleans, from which point the first number was issued in January, 1846. The disappointments and embarrassments attendant upon such enterprises at the South were not wanting, and in January, 1849, the work was suspended, the editor being reduced to the verge of bankruptcy, and left to struggle with an almost crushing debt. Determined to know no such word as fail, the publication was resumed again in July of that year, and, by dint of the most herculean struggles, it rose steadily into circulation and favor, liquidated to the last fraction its liabilities, and for nearly thirteen years occupied position as the most flourishing periodical in the South. What its influences were in that time is not to be spoken of here. The editor is, however, willing to take his place in the history of the times upon the record of those fifteen years of toil and labor, in which the heyday and prime of manhood were spent. The one controlling and dominant idea of his life, now rapidly running into the yellow leaf, was the elevation, mor-

ally, physically, and politically, of his native South, and her regeneration from what was threatening at every point to humiliate, degrade, and destroy her. Events have run on and culminated faster than even he could have anticipated. Had the South not resisted the efforts of her true friends it was possible for her, fifteen or twenty years ago, to have averted the evils which have come upon her. However, the hand of Providence directs more wisely than could that of man, and there should be no repining. The issues of the *past* are dead. The *FUTURE* only is to be regarded.

We resume again the publication of the Review, suspended in consequence of the pressure of the war and the difficulties of publication, since August, 1862, and have the guarantee of a large printing-house in Columbia, S. C., that it shall continue to appear. It has a mission now even higher than that of the past. Society, institutions, and government are to be established and confirmed, and the editor enters upon the labor of love as if to the manor born. Fit employment for the meridian and decline of life will that employment be which absorbed and exhausted all of the energies of its youth.

A competent assistant, resident at the place of publication, will be

put in charge of all the details of editing, thus relieving the editor, whose residence during the war is in Mississippi, of all but the general direction of the work, which he can keep in his hand with but slight expenditure of time or labor. His contributions will be sufficiently frequent.

There can be little question that the intellect of the country is searched for now in the army, and this will explain why it happens that so little is being done for its literature. In this Titanic struggle which is going on, the genial pursuit of letters is at an end, and for nearly three years little has appeared which is worthy either of the genius or attainments of our people. The glorious struggle has scarcely inspired one song which will live beyond the generation that now burns with martial ardor and rushes to the deadly field.

Books we have had—not a few. Works upon the army, works upon the navy, treatises interesting to the medical staff, translations and digests, some attempts at history, occasional school-books, and now and then a work of romance. We are not doing injustice to these. Many are of great value, some of literary merit, and a few which deserve more than passing comment. Still, the truth with which we set out can not be gainsaid, and the development of Southern literature remains for the future.

Why is it that those who are in the civil walks find no utterances now? Are there not grand themes enough to arouse them to exertion? Can Simms be content with silence,

and not give, as of yore, his stirring and classic romances? Upon the great questions of international law will not the chaste and cultivated Trescot speak? Has Fitzhugh no profound treatise upon social politics? Where are Hayne, Thompson, Randall, Meek, and Requier, and a host of others, of whom these but occur to us at the moment? Some of them do indeed speak occasionally in the lighter effusions of the press; but this is not what is wanted. They must rise to elaborate effort. The country requires more than this at their hands.

"Why stand ye all the day idle?"

It will be interesting, however, for future reference, to make a list of the leading publications which, up to this time, have appeared in the Confederacy, and which constitute its war literature. They emanate from the houses of West & Johnston, Richmond, Evans & Cogswell, Columbia, and S. H. Goetzl, Mobile. Here is the list: Bulwer's "Strange Story;" "Tannhauser;" "Macaria," by the author of Beulah; "Silas Marner, the Weaver;" "Master William Mitten," by Judge Longstreet; "Morgan and his Men;" "Eleanor's Victory;" "Lady Audley's Secret;" "Joseph II and his Court," translated by Madame Chaudron; "The War and its Heroes;" "General Orders of the Adjutant-General;" "Andrews' Mounted Artillery;" Hardee's "Infantry Tactics," with plates; "Wheeler's "Cavalry Tactics," with plates; "Mrs. Lirriker's Lodgings" (Dickens); "The Rebel Songster;" "The Confederate;" Chaudron's "New Spelling" and "Reading Book;" Victor Hugo's

"Les Miserables," five vols.; "Pollard's History of the War," 3 vols.; "American Union," by Spence; "Resources of Southern Fields and Forests," by Dr. Porcher; Chisolm's "Medical Hygiene of the Army," etc.; "Laws of War and Neutrality," by Macqueen; "No Name," by Wilkie Collins; "Mahan on Fortifications," with plates; Gilham's "Manual for Volunteers;" "Stonewall Jackson Song-Book;" "Soldier-Boy Songster;" "School of the Guides;" "Jomini's Practice of War;" "Confederate Receipt-Book;" "Volunteers Camp and Field Book;" "C. S. Army Regulations," etc., etc.

It was our intention, in the present number of the Review, to have referred at some length to the histories of Mr. Pollard, the contributions of Dr. Porcher, and the new novel by Miss Evans, included in the list just given, but neither space nor time admit.

A word of reference ought, however, to be had to Miss Evans. She bids fair to be one of the most shining lights of our literature, if she will but continue to devote herself, as she evidently has done, to the higher branches of letters. She has intellectual acumen and application of the highest kind, but scarcely cultivates enough the *imagination*. Hence, while her works may smell of the lamp, they are deficient in plot; while they are sensible, artistic, clear (except as to the propensity to use words out of the regular channels of discourse, though ever so English or classical), they are wanting somewhat in enthusiasm and fire. Will Miss Evans but read Zanon, The Strange Story, and works of fiction

of that character more, and Miss Edgeworth, etc., less, she will win higher success in the future.

Yet we are not objecting to "Macaria." Far from it. Our own judgment corresponds with that of all our friends, that it is an admirable production, and one which must place the author on a high niche. Where there are a thousand merits, it would be invidious to light upon only occasional faults. The literary world will be anxious to hear from Miss Evans often. She is but at the beginning of her career, and we offer this weak and hurried tribute at her shrine, and bid her "God-speed." The enthusiasm and the fire will come with the new themes which the present war will suggest, and Miss Evans already enters upon it in many of the chapters which are by far the best in Macaria. Here is a grand theme from her pen. To use her own quotation—

"Henceforward, rise, as fire
To all * * * * *
The lofty uses and the noble ends
To which thou art elect."

We add a word about "Joseph the Second," the first volume only having appeared. The accomplished lady who translates the work has done it with grace and spirit, and furnishes the Confederate public one of the most readable romances of the age. Madame Chaudron, a resident of Mobile and a refugee from Louisiana, is doing higher service than by her translations. She is the author of a series of school-books, which are now going through the press, and which will be an invaluable addition to our now very scanty school literature. Success to her efforts.

No one, who considers for a moment how varied are the soils and climates, and diversified are the products of the Confederate States—or, taking another stand-point, can meditate the high characteristics which belong to its people—acknowledged now by all the world—the bravery, endurance, inflexibility of purpose, and heroic determination of its men; the patient, long-suffering, and martyr-spirit of its women, displayed in the fiery ordeal through which we are passing—without coming to the conclusion that a glorious future awaits us. In the depths of our sorrows, with grief at every hearth-stone, with blood upon every lintel, with our fair fields ravaged, and all of wealth and resources that belonged to us squandered and wasting away, and darkness overspreading the land—the future—the FUTURE looms up grand and inviting, and our children's children, speaking to us from its depths, cry "Worthy, worthy, oh noble race; see here the rewards of your toils and sorrows!—a free and happy people, sweeping through all latitudes from the Missouri to the Equator; through all longitudes from ocean to ocean; with institutions which have weathered the storm, with fields rioting in wealth, with rich argosies floating over the deep and proud navies defending them, with rarest development in art and manufactures, and great cities and towns, and interminable quays and canals and railways, and letters springing up and flourishing and spreading their influence throughout the earth!" Oh! glorious vision! Oh! future worthy of privation and suffering, and even death itself! Let the storm rage! A light glimmers over the face of the deep—a small, faint, taper-like ray it may be, but it gilds the way to the haven which comes nearer and nearer, and is even now opening to receive us.

Not long since a writer in the Columbia *Guardian* called upon the editor of this Review to say what had

become of the spinning machinery of Mr. Henry, of Mobile, which some years ago was set at work upon some cotton plantations of the South, in order to convert the raw cotton into yarn. Mr. Henry is now dead, and Mr. Yerger, at whose plantation the experiments were made, sleeps with him. No attempts have been made to revive and set in operation the invention, and we agree with the writer in the *Guardian* that it would be an auspicious time for practical men to look into the matter. Mr. Henry's contributions were published in the Review from 1856 to 1859. The volumes can be found in most of the public libraries.

H. J. Bartlett, of Selma, Ala., is the general agent for the Confederate States of the "Arrow Tie," "an improved method of fastening iron bands on cotton bales; a substitute for rope, costs less, is put on faster, holds the bales smaller, and will not rot; adjusted to the bales in the press, and with the same facility as rope." Mr. Bartlett is prepared to supply the hoop and tie, and will give all necessary information to those who may address him on the subject.

The Rev. A. D. McCoy, who was well known in New Orleans for his assiduous and devoted labors in behalf of sailors and boatmen, has now established a noble charity at Livingston, Ala., to wit: an institution for the education of the destitute orphan children of our soldiers. Nothing can be more noble than the conception, and we trust that his efforts to obtain the necessary means will be abundantly successful. Our excellent President has addressed the following letter to Mr. McCoy:

RICHMOND, VA., Sept. 25, 1863.

DEAR SIR: I have received your letter of the 4th instant, and take pleasure in expressing my approval of the scheme set forth in the accompanying circular of the school to be established at Livingston, in which, in addition to a good English and classical education, the pupils will have an opportunity to acquire a thorough knowledge of a trade.

I agree with you entirely in the opinion, that any honest work is honorable employment, and that the community would be much benefited if every member of it was practically acquainted with some mechanical pursuit.

The people of these states have been successful agriculturalists, have afforded many illustrious examples of eminence in all the professions, have fixed the admiration of the world by the skill of their generals and the prowess of their troops in war, and there is no reason to think that they are not qualified to excel in any occupation requiring high mental and physical endowments. The absolute necessity which they now feel for sending abroad for the products of the skill and industry of foreign nations, and the difficulty experienced in importing them, should persuade everybody of the importance of educating citizens of the country in the manufacturing arts.

I hope, therefore, sir, that your efforts will receive proper support, and that the school will send out many pupils well prepared for usefulness.

The laudable purpose to which you intend to devote the profits of the enterprise, and the liberal promises you make to those who may continue at the institution until they become of age, should secure for the undertaking general favor.

With assurances of my best wishes, I am, very respectfully, your fellow-citizen,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Congress has adjourned after an exciting session which will be memorable in history. They have legislated earnestly and unmoved, though the Goths and Vandals have been all around, thundering at the gates of the city, and threatening death and destruction. It was a noble spectacle. Nothing has been seen like it since the Roman senators in their seats awaited the irruption of the angry barbarians, or since the French Assembly, with the Allies at the gates of Paris, debated calmly on international copyright. Sublime confidence! Are the armies of Lee and Beauregard indeed invincible?

Among the most important measures adopted at this session was an address prepared by Mr. Rives, which sets forth eloquently and nobly the aims and hopes of the Confederacy, and vindicates before the world the justice and majesty of its

cause. Alas, alas! what unprovoked and unmerited wrongs have we suffered from that world!

The tax laws were amended in some essential respects. The tithe tax is to be deducted from the tax on agricultural property, specie is not to be taxed in kind, and five-dollar notes are to be taxed by January next out of existence. Having published the law, we shall in our next publish the amendments.

Abraham Lincoln has been nominated again for the Presidency, and with him the renegade, Andrew Johnson. Though the opposition Republicans and Democrats will run other candidates, the Dictator will, most likely, find means to perpetuate his reign. With the control of purse and sword, what is not practicable in the United States? Having crossed the Rubicon, the Empire follows of course. We are prepared for all of this. Marvellously preserved and upheld by God in this struggle so far, we have no fear of the result. There is much to hope for in the angry discussions and squabbles which the coming conflict at home threatens to the enemy. There is more, however, to be hoped for in the Roman fortitude and virtues of our cohorts and legions in the field.

In the last number that was issued of the Review we commenced the publication of a "Journal of the War," and had the work been continued the journal would have been brought down regularly to the date of each issue. As it is, the material has accumulated, until now it occupies several volumes of manuscript, which, in all probability, will have to await appearance in print until the close of hostilities. Some portions, however, may appear in our future pages. In addition to the record which we have made from day to day of the events and circumstances of this truly Titan struggle, pains have been taken to preserve everything which has come to hand in the public journals, or re-

ports or official despatches that will be valuable in reflecting the history of the times.

One of the most difficult things which our children will find to understand, in reference to the existing war, will be that which puzzled the present generation not a little in reference to the times of the old revolution, viz: the almost fabulous prices which have prevailed in regard to the indispensable articles of life, and the wonder will be how it was that people were ever enabled to pay them. Let it be put upon record for these children, that their fathers and mothers paid not seldom for a bushel of corn from \$20 to 50; a barrel of flour, \$250 to 300; a ham or shoulder of bacon, \$70 to 100; a pound of butter or sugar, \$6 to 15; a pair of ladies' shoes, \$125, and a pair of gentleman's boots, \$250; a felt hat, \$125; a yard of calico, \$15; of unbleached domestics, \$5; a shirt, \$75; a lady's bonnet, \$250; a suit of clothes for a gentleman, \$1,500; board at the hotels, from \$20 to 40 per day; a single meal or a bed at some of the hotels, \$10; a gallon of whiskey, \$100; a good Spanish segar or a drink at a bar-room, \$3. Yet people drink, and smoke, and dress, and the ladies look as pretty and as neat, and nobody seems to apprehend starvation. Marvellous!

It has been fashionable to abuse Mr. Mallory; but much of the abuse lavished upon him belongs of right to old Neptune, because that he has made us a set of "land-lubbers," and not a sea-going people, as were our Yankee neighbors in all period of time. For our part, we believe that Mr. Mallory has done about as well as any man could with the materials he found to work upon, and he was, by his antecedents, better acquainted with naval matters than any public man in the Confederacy. Whatever mistakes he, or any of us, in that particular, made in the earlier stages of the war, are being rapidly rectified, and at this moment the Confederate navy, for home defences, is assuming

a proud position; and upon the broad deep the records of the Alabama, the Florida, the Tacony, etc., vie with those of the dashing Richard and the daring Paul Jones. In another generation or two the trident of the seas will descend to us. Let us not be impatient, but bide our time. Where the carcass is there will be the eagles. Now, as ever, "commerce is the golden girdle of the globe."

So, too, for the Treasury department. Had Mr. Memminger been a Necker or Alexander Hamilton, in a war of such giant magnitude, debt must have been counted on—colossal debt, depreciation, and general financial chaos. Was it ever otherwise in any period of history? Did the world ever know abler and truer men than in the old revolution, and did they not meet with the like experience? Vast as has been our resources, and noble as is our cause, doubters, and croakers, and speculators have been our constant enemies. They have degraded the currency more than everything else; but, thank God, the tables begin now to turn.

And our noble President. He has stood, brave as Ajax and wise as Ulysses, and won a name in the annals of his age proud as that of any of the heroes of old. Let him have his faults, which the invidious claim it as a merit to point out—so they do of every truly great character; for us it is enough that he has piloted through storm, and wreck, and ruin the proud ship of state, and brought her, to the wonder and admiration of mankind, well-nigh to port! When this is indeed done, it will be difficult to prevent coming generations from placing him by the side of Washington.

They fall around us thick and fast, the hero-martyrs of the war, every drop of whose blood should count for more than torrents from the hireling miscreants who invade our soil. Alas! how many who were near and dear to us are gone! School-mates, classmates, associates in early manhood and prime, gone—gone—and we shed proud tears over them. Independ-

dence will lose many of its charms without them. Who will be left "to call us Charley?" We dwell not upon them here. Two or three names start up in vivid recollection. Polk, noble christian-soldier and gentleman, linking the banner of the cross with that of his country, and putting aside for the time the bishop's gown for the panoply of the warrior. What a light was extinguished when his went out! What a star was struck from his country's constellation! How well we knew and revered him! Keitt, chivalrous knight, ambitious young orator, and rising statesman—how thy proud spirit rebelled against Yankee domination, and how quick to fly to arms at thy country's call, and to lead her gallant sons in the desperate breach! One other—a soldier of an earlier day, veteran of the old war, and associate of Jackson. The grasp of age alone paralyzed the arm which would have grasped the sword in this conflict, and he died at home an octogenarian, surrounded by his country's enemies, and forced, by his infirmities and necessities, to concessions which his proud spirit must have yielded under. The staunch, true, generous friend of our youth, Maunsel White, of New Orleans, is gathered to his fathers. A thousand memories of the past cling to his name. We drop a tear upon each of them. He was no less a victim of the war than if bleeding upon its battle-field!

The war has undoubtedly developed the resources of the South, and there are few articles for which we were formerly indebted to Yankee handcraft that are not now manufactured to some extent in our midst. We make our own shoes, hats, cloth, lucifer matches, and paper, shoe blacking and ink, nails, hoop iron, bagging, and rope, to say nothing of the thousand and one articles necessary in equipping an army. Our own brooms, buckets and tin pans, baskets, pots, and pans, come into the list; some of them very rough, to be sure, but all of them will answer; and if the war lasts very long, there will be

nothing excluded from the list. The affix distinguishes the article from that which comes through the blockade, to wit: "Confederate" this, that, or the other. Certainly the Southern people have proved themselves, contrary to all theories, the most industrious, and the most practical and inventive people in the world.

Our women, too. How nobly have they stood up to the requisitions of the times! Three-fourths of the estates and property of the country are managed by them, and managed with admirable results; and still they have time to fabricate cloth and clothes for soldiers, to wait upon hospitals, to visit the camps and the neighborhood of battle-fields, and to keep up all the evidences of comfort and civilization. Sometimes they are found plough or hoe in hand. Even those reared to wealth and luxury earn a bare living pittance at the hands of quartermasters, contractors, or in the public offices of government; and yet how cheerful and how happy withal! The greatest heroism and martyrdom of the times are not to be found upon the battle-field.

There is no fear either that the war will check the growth of population. There is something in the habits of life engendered by war that is favorable to the growth of children. The absence of luxury is a powerful stimulant. It is found so in all great revolutionary epochs. Usually in a few years all traces of the great conflict are removed. Therefore the Yankees can find small comfort in their diabolical threats of "extermination." The land will be as populous as ever; and let it be a part of our religious creed in the future, that the only citizens of the Confederate States are to be those who are born upon its soil, or who shared its fortunes in the dark hours of its history!

Yankee atrocities! What a record of these will be made up by the future historian! They have armed

our slaves and household dependents, and instigated them to murder; they have plied the torch to villages and towns, and sent tender women and children, and hoary years, out upon the pitiless storm to beggary and starvation. They have plundered and desecrated, and left nothing in their path but misery and ruin, and devastation and death. What wonder that they meet an infuriated people at every step, and that even traitors stand appalled at their crimes, and, like Judas Iscariot, would fain drown conscience by ending life! Only their impotency, not their intent, has prevented our proud land from being already a howling wilderness. Their pathway is that of fiends and demons, not men. Tender women

have been insulted, whipped, violated. Shot and shell are thrown without notice into populous cities! No crime that has not its sanction. Their leading generals preach that "rebels" have the right to nothing—not even life. Well said the gallant Taylor, in his address to his victorious army:

"Along a hundred miles of his path the flying foe, with more than savage barbarity, burned every house and village within his reach. You extinguished the burning rains in his base blood, and were nerved afresh to vengeance by the cries of women and children left without shelter or food. Long will the accursed race remember the great river of Texas and Louisiana!"



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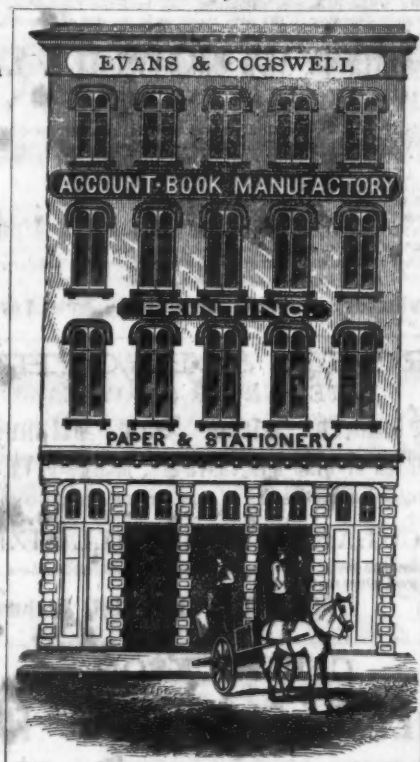
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LAND DEPARTMENT.

NEW ORLEANS, June 1st, 1861.

THE NEW ORLEANS, OPELOUSAS AND GREAT WESTERN RAILROAD COMPANY, by and in virtue of an Act of the United States Congress of the 3d June, 1856, and of an Act of our State Legislature of the 11th March, 1857, have become the owners of 705,000 acres of Land, free from all incumbrances or mortgages.

These Lands are included within a strip of thirty miles in width, or fifteen miles on each side of the railway line, extending from Algiers, opposite New Orleans, to the Sabine river, or the eastern boundary of Texas—a distance of 258 miles. In the contemplated continuation of this road into Texas, it will traverse the most fertile grain region of that State.

The Lands lying opposite the first 125 miles of the Company's road, are in the rich and heavily timbered alluvial valley of the Mississippi river, on Bayou Lafourche, Grand lake, and elsewhere. Between the 125th and 190th miles, we have a very large amount of fertile and valuable Lands in the Attakapas prairies—a region nowhere excelled for beauty, healthfulness and fertility of soil.

Between the 190th mile and the Sabine river, the road traverses the moderately hilly and heavily timbered pine woodlands, varied occasionally by the rich vallies of the streams. Good water, game, and clear-water brooks abounding in fish, are common to this entire locality. The pine woods, in quantity and quality, are unsurpassed; and it is believed that the Lands will raise cotton profitably.

Maps and plats can be seen and examined, all information as to the character and price of land obtained, applications made, and terms of sale finally agreed upon, at the Office of the Company's Land Agent, at Brashear city, Parish of St. Mary, La.

Acts of sale to be passed in New Orleans, at the expense of the purchaser.

In the absence of the purchaser, a written power of attorney, authorizing the agent to sign the Act, and the notes given in payment, and to grant a mortgage to secure the notes, will be required.

The terms of sale are: One-third cash; remainder in notes at one and two years, payable at a bank in New Orleans, with eight per cent. per annum interest after maturity, with mortgage until final payment; and in default, the purchaser to pay five per cent. for attorney's fees.

The Company's Lands are now being examined. As fast as reports are made, the price per acre will be fixed on each tract applied for, and the applicant duly notified of the same; and he will be required to accept the land, at the price designated, within a reasonable time, or, in default, the land will be offered for sale to others. The Company reserves to itself the right of changing the prices and terms from time to time.

The Company desire to encourage actual settlers, and will grant priority of application to persons who are now in actual occupation and cultivation of land; but only a reasonable time will be granted them to apply for and purchase, after which it will be sold to any other applicant.

WILLIAM G. HEWES, President.

G. W. R. BAYLEY, Land Agent.

Jan. 1yr

LOUISIANA LANDS.

LAND DEPARTMENT, VICKSBURG, SHREVEPORT AND TEXAS RAILROAD.

The Government titles have been received for 350,000 Acres of Land, which enure to this Company under the Act of Congress granting Lands to the State of Louisiana, to aid in the Construction of Railroads, approved 3d June, 1856. These Lands lie in alternate sections along on either side of the Railroad, none of them being more than fifteen miles from it, reaching nearly across the State from east to west, in the heart of the Cotton zone. A portion of them are Alluvial Lands, lying east of the Ouachita river, and are among the finest Cotton Lands in the world. Those in the vicinity of Bayou Macon, on the west bank, known as the "Bayou Macon Hill Lands," are entirely above overflow, lie well, have a good foundation, and may be relied on for something like a Bale of Cotton per Acre. They are rapidly appreciating, and planters are beginning to prefer them to the Swamp Lands, which require the protection of levees. West of the Ouachita is a pleasant country to live in, well watered and healthy, where the Lands grow Wheat and other Grains well, and produce a better yield of Cotton than most of the high Lands in the older Cotton-growing States.

These Lands are now offered for sale, at prices ranging from \$5 to \$20 per Acre, according to quality and location, upon terms of payment to suit purchasers. The Lands are mortgaged to secure the payment of the bonds issued by the Company. When sold for cash, the mortgage will be cancelled, and a clear title given. When sold on credit, a payment of at least one-fourth part of the purchase money will be required at the time of sale, and, for the residue, the purchaser's notes will be taken, running one, two and three years, bearing eight per cent. interest from date, secured by a special mortgage in the act of sale, binding the purchaser also to pay five per cent. attorney's fees, in the event it shall be necessary to sue on the notes. When the last payment is made, the Company's bond mortgage will be cancelled, as in the case of a cash sale.

The sales will be made here at the Company's Office, in Monroe, and the title passed before a Notary Public, at the expense of the purchaser; to which will be added one dollar to pay for cancelling the mortgage; and in case of a credit sale, outside of the parish of Ouachita, two dollars, to pay for recording the mortgage in the parish in which the land is situated.

If the purchaser cannot be present in person to accept the title, it will be sufficient, in case of a cash sale, for him to write a letter to some friend who may be present, requesting him to pay the money, and receive the title. But, in case the purchaser wants a credit on the land, he must be more particular, and give his agent a regular power of attorney, before a Notary Public, authorizing him to purchase and accept the title of the Land, which must be described, and the price specified, to make the cash payment, sign the notes, and execute the mortgage to secure their payment.

Agents are employed examining the Lands, and as fast as their returns are made, the price is set on every tract which has been applied for, and communicated to the applicant, and a reasonable time is given for his acceptance. But hereafter, when application shall be made for Lands which shall have been examined, the price and terms will be stated for that day, and the Land will not be suspended for the benefit of applicants, but we shall be free to vary the price or terms, or sell to others who may desire to purchase.

By the terms of the grant, the Company's title is perfected 20 miles in advance of every section of 20 miles of finished road; and ten years were given to complete the road. The title of the Company is thus, now, perfected to the Land opposite to 40 miles of the road; and another section of 20 miles will soon be added. A failure to complete the road within the time cannot affect the title of the Lands sold by the Company, which, at the expiration of the time, namely, on the 3d day of June, 1866, shall be opposite to any portion of finished road, or opposite to a point 20 miles in advance of the finished road counting as before, in sections of 20 miles.

Monroe, Louisiana.

C. G. YOUNG, President.

mar-1yr

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(LATE LANE & BODLEY.)

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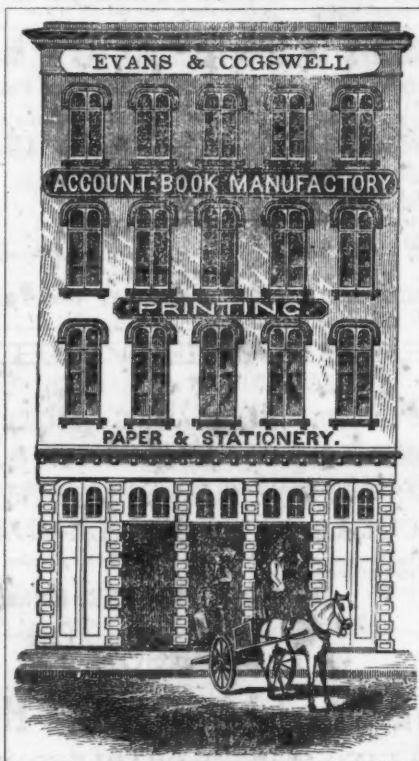
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